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MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

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MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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The annual dues are five dollars.

Papers read before the meetings of the Society and such contributions acceptable to the publication committee will be published in the collections.

The collections will be sent free to all members of the Society and contributors.

Contributions to the collections and correspondence should be addressed to

WILLIAM J. SEEVER, *Secretary*,
1600 Locust Street, St. Louis.

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MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

VOL. 2. ST. LOUIS, JANUARY, 1900. No. 1.

THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE DISCLAIMS RESPONSIBILITY FOR VIEWS EXPRESSED BY CONTRIBUTORS.

PREFATORY NOTES.

MARSHALL S. SNOW.

It has been the custom of the Missouri Historical Society to publish from time to time papers which have been read at its meetings, as the special interest of the subject treated and the means of the Society might warrant. But this publication has of necessity been irregular and incomplete, and the collections of the Society include many valuable contributions of interest to the people of St. Louis and Missouri, with which only a few who may have heard them read are acquainted, and which have been soon forgotten.

Circumstances now seem to make it possible as well as desirable to place before our members and friends some of this choice store of material by a regular and systematic plan. It is our purpose to publish at least four times a year, at regular intervals, a pamphlet containing (1) papers which may be offered to the Society from time to time, and, it may be, read at its meetings; (2) selections from earlier papers which have never been published by the Society; (3) copies of documents pertaining to the early settlement and government of our city, State, and the Mississippi Valley; (4) curious clippings from old and almost forgotten newspapers, illustrating the life of former days; and (5) brief notes of current interest upon matters pertinent to our work.

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The co-operation of all who are interested in the Society is earnestly solicited. Contributions upon the history and archaeology of St. Louis, of the State of Missouri, and of the Mississippi Valley, will be welcomed and will be given careful attention. Concerning the wealth of valuable material in this great field of inquiry and research there is no doubt. It only remains for those interested to lend us their aid, and we cannot fail to bring together in this way very much new material, as well as to revive much that is in danger of falling into the limbo of forgotten things.

The chief events in the history and growth of the Missouri Historical Society have been narrated more than once, and its aims and purposes have been stated frequently. And yet it may not be out of place here to make brief mention of its history and the nature of its work.

More than thirty years ago a number of well-known citizens of St. Louis formed themselves into an association to be known as the Missouri Historical Society. They declared in their constitution that the objects of the Society should be: —

"*First.* The establishment of a library of books and publications appropriate to such an institution, with convenient works of reference, and also a cabinet of antiquities, relics, etc.

"*Second.* The collection into a safe and permanent depository of manuscripts, documents, papers and tracts, possessing a historical value and worthy of preservation.

"*Third.* To encourage investigation of aboriginal remains, and more particularly to provide for the complete and scientific exploration and survey of such aboriginal monuments as exist within the limits of this State and the Mississippi Valley.

"*Fourth.* To collect and preserve in particular such his-

torical materials as shall serve to illustrate the settlement and growth of the City of St. Louis, State of Missouri, and the Mississippi Valley."

The Society was incorporated February 7, 1872, and much was accomplished by the earnest men who were the incorporators and those who gathered about them. A respectable library was slowly collected. Relics of the St. Louis of ante-bellum days — now a mere memory in the life of the new St. Louis — were brought together. Portraits of persons identified with the early history of the city were procured. Prehistoric remains of great interest were purchased and contributed. Papers of value were read by members. But the lack of a home for the Society and a place for displaying and using its rapidly accumulating collections was a serious drawback to its prosperity. Its meetings were held for many years in a room in the Polytechnic building on the corner of Seventh and Chestnut streets, and afterwards in the Director's room of Washington University. Its books and pictures and archaeological treasures were kept for several years in a basement room in the Court House, inaccessible and falling into decay. Meantime attempts were made to secure a permanent abode for the Society. In 1872 Mr. Lucas gave to the Academy of Science and the Historical Society a lot of ground on Locust street near Thirteenth. It was hoped that funds could be raised by the two organizations and a building erected, and several efforts were made by both societies to get money for this purpose. These attempts failed, however, and in 1888 the lot was sold and the proceeds divided between the joint owners. Some time before this sale the present property was acquired and the collections removed and put in order. For a while the hopes of the Society were high; but then came a season of neglect and almost an abandonment of its purposes. In the beginning of the year 1894 a renewed attempt was made to put the institution once more on its feet, and since that time its prosperity has been continued and its future now seems to be assured.

The Missouri Historical Society is to be congratulated to-day on what it now has of value, not only as available assets financially, but as material for study and instruction in its own field of work. We have a roomy, commodious, well-lighted building not, unfortunately, fire-proof, worth to-day in the market many thousands of dollars above any obligation resting upon it. Our library, although not a large one, has in it many rare and choice volumes concerning local and other American history, catalogued and ready for reference use. We have an archaeological collection unsurpassed, if, indeed, it is equaled in this or any other country in the special line which it represents; and our portraits show us the faces of the men who have made St. Louis, who have laid the foundations of her greatness.

Our building is also a center to which kindred societies come. The Academy of Science, The Engineers Club, and other societies which, in their own field, are working in sympathy with our general aims and purposes, have their home with us and help and strengthen us in many ways.

In St. Louis, the old French town, the border city, the early battle-ground in the first months of civil strife, the Southwestern capital, there must be still many things not yet brought to the light of publicity which are of great value to our local history. In the broader field of our State are yet to be gathered historical treasures from the memories of living men as well as from the relics of the dead yet undisturbed in their ancient graves. In the great valley in which we are placed is a still larger opportunity in which this Society ought to have an important share.

It is with the hope that some part of this work may be better accomplished that the proposed publication is undertaken. We are sure that such an appeal to the interest of our members and friends will not be unnoticed, or without fruit.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. 1844–1851.

WILLIAM J. SEEVER.

In the year 1844, a few individuals made an effort to establish a Historical Society for Missouri.

On the 18th of December of that year, a meeting was held in the Senate Chamber at Jefferson City, when measures were taken to organize the Society. Addresses explaining its objects were delivered, a constitution adopted, fourteen names enrolled as members, and a committee appointed to apply to the General Assembly for an act of incorporation; one volume, "Travels in North America," by the Marquis de Chastelleux, and a fac-simile engraving of six brass plates found in an Illinois mound in 1843, were donated and constituted the beginning of the Society's library.

The constitution declared the objects of the Society to be, to collect and preserve all papers, documents, and materials connected with the early history of Missouri, and all statistics pertaining to the population and resources of the State, and to make publication thereof from time to time.

The headquarters of the society was to be at Jefferson City and branches were to be permitted to be established in any other part of the State. An act of incorporation was passed on the 27th day of February, 1845, and the following gentlemen were named as incorporators:[1] George W. Hough, William Claude Jones, William M. Campbell, James L. Minor, Hiram P. Goodrich, George W. Waters, John I. Campbell, John H. Watson, Adam B. Chambers, John McNeil, Samuel Treat, Robert I. Boas, Erich Plump, John G. Walker, George W. Huston, Hiram H. Baber, John C. Edwards, Benjamin F. Stringfellow,

[1] Of these Judge Samuel Treat is, I believe, the only survivor.

Bela M. Hughes, Trusten Polk, Robert Wilson, John D. Coalter, William Carson, George A. Carrel, Thomas G. Allen, William E. Elliott, William G. Minor, R. G. Smart, Mann Butler, S. H. Whipple, Robert T. Brown, and Harrison Hough.

On the 6th day of January, 1847, the General Assembly passed an act giving the use and control of a room in the Capitol building to the Society and later during the same session an appropriation was made for the purpose of furnishing the Society's room with shelves and suitable furniture, and copies of all State publications were to be furnished for its library.

The first annual meeting was held on the 20th of January 1845, at which the following officers were chosen:—

William M. Campbell, of St. Louis, President.
James L. Minor, of Cole County, Secretary.
George W. Hough, of Cole County, Treasurer.

A number of new members were admitted at this meeting, several distinguished citizens of other States were elected as honorary members and the co-operation of the citizens of Missouri was requested.

The second annual meeting of the Society was held January 10th, 1846; the third on January 19th, 1847; the fourth on January 17th, 1848 (fifth, no record); the sixth on January 15th, 1850, and the last a called meeting late in the winter of 1851.

William M. Campbell was re-elected as president of the Society at every annual meeting until his death, which occurred December 31st, 1849.

Falkland H. Martin, of Jefferson County, was elected as secretary for 1846–47–48 and '49. At the annual meeting in 1850, David Todd of Columbia, was elected president, and Ephraim B. Ewing of Ray County, secretary, there being no change in the office of treasurer during the life of the Society, its funds being judiciously expended by George W. Hough.

After the death of its honored president, who may be considered as the founder of the Society, but little was done to preserve the organization or continue its labors. The Society, it may be said, died with him.

At the annual meeting in 1847 a resolution was passed by the Society providing for a petition to the General Assembly to enact a law for a thorough geological survey of the State, which resulted in the passage of a law providing for a geological survey which has developed and brought to the knowledge of the world the inexhaustable mineral resources of Missouri.

The report of the secretary for the year 1850 stated, that the cabinet contained many valuable geological and mineral specimens, the library had all the early legislative journals of the State commencing with the convention which met at St. Louis in 1820, also bound volumes of all the more important newspapers of the State, beginning with the year 1808 and up to that time, and a number of bound volumes of pamphlets of local and general history; and many other books.

After the dissolution of the Society its effects were turned over to the Secretary of State for safe-keeping, its room was used for the storage of the publications of the State, the collections of the Society were finally crowded out and found a resting-place in the basement of the Capitol; here they remained until the Civil War when the basement rooms of the Capitol were used as a military prison. After the organization of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis, an effort was made to secure the library of its predecessor for the new organization; early in the seventies Col. James O. Broadhead, a member of both societies, visited Jefferson City for this purpose. A few bound volumes of State newspapers was all that remained of the property of the old State Society; the use as a military prison to which the storage rooms had been put, together with the dampness and general unfitness, added no doubt to their destruction.

It will not be out of place, in connection with this brief sketch of the Society, to pay some tribute to the memory of its founder and president, William M. Campbell. For many years he was a part of the history of our State. Born at Lexington, Virginia, in 1804; a college graduate, he came to Missouri in 1827, settling in St. Charles, where he practiced law, removing to St. Louis in 1844; member of the State legislature from 1830 to 1845. He was a man of great research and untiring energy, and had more to do with affairs of the State during his time than any other man in the State; he was connected for several years with the public press as publisher of the *New Era* at St. Louis.

Mr. Campbell was familiar with the early history of Missouri and had collected many interesting facts in connection with early French and Spanish settlements, traders, and Indians.

To show the interest which he took in the work of the Missouri Historical Society and his thorough knowledge of what constitutes the material of history, an extract from an article written by him for the Society is here copied: —

"The Society desires that the early and local history of the State may be written by persons competent to the task and furnished for its use. The history of the early French and Spanish settlements at New Madrid, Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, St. Charles, Portage des Sioux, Mine Breton, Cote Sans Dessein, and other places would be interesting,— as would also an account of the emigration that came from New Orleans, Canada and elsewhere; and of the location and condition of the various Indian tribes when the first white settlements were made. Accounts of the early voyages, travels, trading expeditions, adventures, exploits and escapes of the early settlers, would be read with pleasure. Accurate details of the Indian wars, conflicts, alarms, and treaties, would form interesting chapters in the history of the State. A description and history of the various posts and forts that existed at early times is desired. The biog-

raphy of the pioneers — Laclede, Piernas, Cruzat, Libya, St. Ange, Delassus, Trudeau, Soulard, Mackey, Chouteau, Cerre, Pratte, Lisa, LaBeaume, Musick, Delaurier, Tayon, Blanchard, Clamorgan, and many others — would be a valuable addition to our history. The number and extent of the early French and Spanish settlements, and the date of their formation, should be ascertained and perpetuated in an authentic form. The history of the territory immediately before, at and after the treaty of cession, should be carefully written. The provincial form of government, the mode of granting lands, and laying out villages, and the system of government and police before the session, are worthy of investigation. The biography of the prominent men who came into office when this territory was transferred to the Americans, should be preserved. The conduct, character and history of Stoddard, Clarke, Lucas, Penrose, Bates, McNair, Ashley, Hempstead, Easton, Gray, Callaway, Cooper, Cole, and many others, should be written out. The events of the war of 1812 and the accompanying Indian troubles, the adventures of the ranging service, the border conflicts with the savages, such as those that occurred at Loutre, Cote Sans Dessein and Chain of Rocks, ought to be minutely given as a part of the history of the country. The territorial history of the country deserves attention — the territorial legislation and executive and judicial action under all the successive forms and grades of government, will be interesting — the gradual progress from the civil to the common law should be traced out, and the men and measures of the territory properly described. Such men as Cousins, the Bartons and Rectors, Strother, Giddings, Emmons, McGirk, Tompkins, Pettibone, are entitled to a place in our territorial history. The task of tracing the progress of settlement and improvement in each section of the State, will be full of interest; and the early efforts at mining, smelting and manufacturing would not be devoid of interest. The history of the regulators may receive a passing notice. The transition from the Territorial into a

State government —the formation and adoption of the State Constitution — the conflicts of opinion that existed in the Convention — the anecdotes and incidents of its session, and the circumstances that attended the admission of the State into the Union, and the organization of the State government, constitute an important chapter of our history. The early legislation of the State, the choice of officers, the selection of United States Senators, the constitutional amendments, the stop laws, and the loan office, are subjects worthy of notice.

"The history of the early trade and commerce of the territory — the Indian trade — the navigation by perogues and keel boats — the change, effected by the introduction of steam boats — the system of barter and exchange — the peltry currency — the Bank of St. Louis, and the old Bank of Missouri, are subjects that could be properly woven into the regular history of the State. The origin, growth and progress of the Rocky Mountain and Santa Fe trade, are fair subjects for historical research. The foundation and progress of the various towns and cities of the State, are parts of our local history. Biographies of all our former governors, judges and prominent officers, are desired. All this mass of general and local history can easily be obtained, if the persons who possess the information will take the trouble to write it down and furnish it to the Society, so that it may be arranged in proper form for publication. A large number of books, pamphlets, letters, manuscripts and files of newspapers are in the possession of individuals and are nearly useless to them, but if contributed to the Society they would form a valuable addition to its collection.

"Another important object of the Society is to obtain a large collection of specimens of the minerals and fossils of the State, with correct information as to their extent, localities and geological position, and to have the same properly classified and arranged for public inspection. Citizens of every county are requested to furnish specimens of the coal,

ores, earths, rocks and petrifactions of their respective neighborhoods, with such information respecting the same as they can obtain. Such a collection, scientifically arranged and classed, would enable the people of the State to acquire a more accurate knowledge of the geology and mineralogy of Missouri, and would open the eyes of our public men as to the extent and value of our mineral resources. Public officers and members of the legislature may make valuable additions to this collection without expense.

"It is also desirable that the Society should embrace as active members a much larger number of the citizens of the State, in order that its funds may be adequate to the accomplishment of the objects of its formation. It is probbable that many persons in various parts of the State are willing to unite in an effort to place this Society on a permanent and respectable basis, and they are solicited to become active members. The success and prosperity of the Society must depend on the united exertions of large numbers of citizens. The officers and members entertain the hope that during the ensuing fall, many additions may be made to the number of its members, and to the list of donors to its library, museum and cabinet. The meeting of the General Assembly will afford a favorable opportunity to send contributions that will be valuable and acceptable. Articles intended for the use of the Society may be delivered to the president in St. Louis, or to the secretary at the city of Jefferson. The officers of the Society appeal to the liberality of the citizens of the State to co-operate with them in effecting the useful objects above set forth; and express the hope that at the annual meeting in next January, they will be able to report the Society in a more prosperous condition than at any former period.

"City of Jefferson, July 4, 1848."

These lines from Campbell's pen may serve to instruct us somewhat in the line of our duties to the present Missouri Historical Society.

NEW YEAR'S DAY IN THE OLDEN TIME OF ST. LOUIS.

(Read before the Society January 5th, 1867.)

WILSON PRIMM.[1]

At the commencement of this New Year, I feel bound to observe, not only a time-honored, but a pleasant custom, and to give utterance to the wish, that Providence may bless you, one and all, with the good things of this life, and exempt you and yours from its sorrows and cares.

The year upon which we have just entered is known in chronology as the historical year 1867; let me also express the wish, that it may be emphatically known and called the *First Historical Year* of our Society.

In presenting this brief paper to your consideration, I have not so much expected that I would instruct or amuse, as that I might lightly pass over the ice-crust of reserve, which at first surrounds an undertaking like ours, and invite the weightier tread of others, more powerful than myself.

I believe it is Horace who says:—

> "*funger vice cotis reddere quae ferrum*
> "*valet acutum ensors ipsa secundi,*"

and if by this incipient step, I may induce other members

[1] Lawyer and jurist; was descended from one of the first French settlers of St. Louis; born in St. Louis, January 10, 1810, and died in this city, January 17th, 1878.

He filled during his life several offices of public trust culminating in the judgeship of the St. Louis Criminal Court for thirteen consecutive years.

He wrote many articles for the press and delivered numerous adresses historical in character; on account of his vivid recollections of early St. Louis he was especially entertaining. An address, "Founding of St Louis," delivered by him on the anniversary celebration of that event, St. Louis, February 15th, 1847, was regarded as the master performance of his life. It was afterwards published in pamphlet form.

to take hold, in good earnest, of the work which our organization proposes, to give us the benefit of their knowledge and research in the enduring form of historical essays, I will not only be well content, but proud to think, that I have played the part of the whetstone, which, incapable itself of cutting, can give keenness of edge to the knife.

The subject of this paper is,

"NEW YEAR'S DAY IN THE OLDEN TIME OF ST. LOUIS."

At the outset it may be asked, what has New Year's day, or the mode of its observance, to do with history? To this I answer, that although it may not have much, yet it has some relation to our past annals.

If history is to be considered as a mere statement in chronological order of the startling events which have marked the life of a people, then I admit that my subject is out of place, and at the present day, a pair of scissors may be more valuable than the pen; because passing events may be cut out of the daily newspapers and pasted together as a book of history. But if history be something more than such a statement; and if it be also the record of the inner life of a people, of their worship, their toils, their domestic economy, their pastimes and amusements, their social intercourse; in fine, of all those elements, which, like the *Lares* of the ancients, huddle around the hearth, toning the character of the household, and by radiation from thence, forming the character of the people, then my subject is not without some historical significance.

History is a panorama of human action, exhibited for our advancement and elevation. It would cease to be history if it were not at the same time shown, the slow working causes which, operating silently but surely in the families, bore people onward to happiness, or dragged them down to ruin.

As far as we have any record of it, the beginning of the

New Year has ever been the occasion of festivity whether it commenced with the vernal or autumnal equinox, the summer or the winter solstice, or whether it began as it does how, according to the Gregorian Calendar, with the first day of January.

In some countries these festivities partook of a sacred, in others of a purely social character; in the olden times of St. Louis they partook somewhat of both. And this may be explained by the fact that its inhabitants were mostly the descendants of families that had emigrated from the various provinces of France long before the revolution had proposed the worship of Reason, and who in a new country, from recollection or tradition, presented and practiced the pious customs of the fatherland.

On New Year's eve, soon after nightfall, the young men of the town would assemble together at some appointed place, dressed out in the most fantastic masquerade costumes, each one provided with a bucket, sack, basket, or other article suitable for the carrying of provisions, solid or liquid. Thus accoutered and provided, at a given signal they proceeded from house to house, without exempting any from their visit, and at each place, in full chorus, they sang "*La Guignoleé.*" This they called "*courier la guignoleé,*" running the guignolee. What the meaning of this word is I do not know, and no one of the old inhabitants has been able to explain it to me. The Gauls, at the commencement of the New Year, were accustomed to present to each other small branches of "*gui,*" mistletoe, which had been previously blessed by the Druids, singing at the same time a kind of hymn, the burden of which was "*Au gui l'an neuf,*" to the mistletoe the new year. "*A gui l'an neuf*" may have been transformed into *Au gui la nouvelle année*, and this may have been still further corrupted into *La Guignolée.*

But whatever the etymology or meaning of the word, the Guignolée was a quaint song, adapted to quaint music, and the words ran thus: —

LA GUIGNOLEE.

Bonsoir le maitre et la maitresse
Et tout le monde du lozis!
Pour le premier jour de l'annee
La Guignolée vous nous devez.
Si vous n'avez vien a nous donner
Dites-nous le!
Nous vous demandons par grand' chose,
Une echinée
Une echinee n'est pas bien longue
De quatre-vingt dix pied de long,
Encore nous demandons par grand chose
La fille aineé de la maison
Nous lui ferons faire bonne chère
Nous lui ferons chauffer les pieds.
Nous saluons la compagnie
Et laprions nous excuser;
Si l'on a fait quelque folie
C'etoit pour nous des ennuyer.
Une autrefois nous prendous garde
Ouand sera temps d'y revenir
Dansons la guenille, dansons la
guenille, dansons la guenille!
Chorus: Bonsoir le maitre et la maitresse,
Et tout le monde du logis!

I have attempted to versify this song, but finding the effort to be futile, I content myself with a liberal prose translation.

"Good night to the master and mistress, and to all the people of the household! For the first day of the year you owe us the Guignoleè. If you have nothing to give us, say so. We do not ask you to give us much, only a chine of pork ninety feet long, 'tis no great thing. Again we do not ask for much, only the eldest daughter of the house; we will feast her and keep her feet well warmed.

"We salute the company, and beg them to excuse us, if we have been guilty of any folly; it was for fun and frolic. The next time we return we will be more careful.

"Let us dance the rag dance, let us dance the rag dance so.

"Good night to the master and mistress of the household."

When the young men came to that part of the song, where they so gallantly propose to feast the young lady and keep her feet warm, some love-smitten swain would break in with a ditty about doves and cuckoos, nightingales and green bowers, closing with a protestation that he was dying for the soft eyes of his mistress. The love ditty being concluded the party received donations from the house, and went through the "*rag dance*" capering about like mad, singing at the same time with all their lungs "dansons la guénille."

On leaving the house, they took up the burden of the song, "Good Night," and continued to sing the first two lines, till their voices were lost in the distance.

At the different houses, the party would be sure to receive some contribution of sugar, coffee, lard, candles, flour, maple syrup, ratafia (a kind of New Orleans rum), eggs, meats, poultry, in fine, almost every thing that was necessary for a first rate ball, to be given at future period. Having gone their rounds, the provisions, which had been gathered, were safely stowed away, to be used as I shall hereafter relate.

Before day the next morning, the whole population attended the celebration of the Mass. When that duty had been performed, the next was to ask the parental blessing. And then could be seen the children, the grandchildren and the great-grandchildren, each in their turn on bended knee, imploring a blessing from their authors of their being. And that blessing was given, ever coupled with a heartfelt prayer, that God, the Father of all, would ratify

it in Heaven, and so guide and protect them amidst the joys and sorrows, the snares and perils of this life, as to fit them for another and better existence.

This touching ceremony repeated at the commencement of each year, gave tone to the whole current of their thoughts and acts. Filial piety was their guiding star; the young never dreamed of forming matrimonial alliances with each other without the full and unqualified assent, not only of the immediate parents, but of the family relatives; and even grown men, settled in life, scarcely ever entered into any important business contract, without the assent or advice of their parents, and never, even when it might otherwise have been to his advantage, has a child been known to repudiate the acts of his parents.

When the consent of the parents had been obtained to a marriage, the affianced pair would together visit their respective relatives saying, "Nous sommes venus demander votre consentemente a notre mariage" — "we have come to ask your consent to our marriage."

In those days real estate frequently passed from hand to hand, without deed or writing of any kind, and for trifling considerations. When the population began to increase by immigration, and to become heterogeneous in its character, many of these lands became valuable, and if upon examining the records, the chain of title to them was found to be defective, by lack of a deed from the original owner, his children never hesitated to affirm the act of the ancestor, and whenever applied to for that purpose, the answer was, "I will make good what my father has done." And no remuneration was asked for or expected.

With the consoling influences of the parental blessing around them; with hearts open to all the impulses of kindness, charity and good will, the different families proceeded to interchange visits, and wish each other "*Une bonne et heureuse année*,"—a good and happy new year. Former animosities and wrongs were mutually forgiven and forgotten, and all breaches of social intercourse were healed

by the kiss of peace and friendship. Of course, the young men took advantage of this custom, and kissed the rosy lips of the pretty girl, at the same time wishing her a good and happy new year, "*et un gros mari à Pâques*"—and a fine husband at Easter. Were they to blame for this? I think not; many of us old men would do the same had we the opportunity.

Croquecignolles were a kind of crull made of wheaten dough, sweetened, rolled out thin, cut into strips, and thrown into boiling lard in such manner, as that when cooked, they formed a convoluted mass; these and pies and cakes together with a wine-glass of home-made cordial, were the usual refreshments tendered to the visitors at each house.

During the course of the day the children visited their respective god-fathers and god-mothers, to receive their "*etrennes;*" and the evening was spent by all in *sober* social enjoyment. These "*etrennes*" were small presents given to the children, and consisted generally, of fruits, nuts, cakes, and sometimes of small articles of wearing apparel. The word "*étrennes*" is thought to be of Sabine origin. On the first day of the year a present had been made to King Tatius of a few twigs from a tree consecrated to Strenne, the goddess of strength. As the year happened to be fortunate for him, he decreed the establishment of this custom, and gave to such presents the name of Strenne; hence "*étrennes.*" The custom was adopted by the Romans, who on that day made to each other presents of dates and honey; but in the time of Augustus, as in our day, the custom was abused, and the "*étrennes*" or new year's gifts, lost their touching simplicity, and degenerated into extravagant vanity.

In connection with the subject of new year's day, it may not be out of place to say a few words respecting the observance of Christmas day, in the olden time of St. Louis.

In those days the entire population professed the Roman Catholic religion. On Christmas Eve, the people, old and

young, with scarcely an exception, prepared themselves for the celebration of the day following, by attending to their religious duties. None went to bed, because they knew that at midnight, they must repair to the old church house. As the clock struck twelve, the inhabitants could be seen all wending their way to hear the midnight mass. It was an impressive scene to behold. The old log church filled to its utmost capacity, the altar gorgeously decorated and brilliantly illuminated, the good old father *Savigne*, officiating in his priestly robes; stillness pervading the sacred edifice, save when broken by the solemn tones of the Gregorian chant, or the words of admonition from the holy man; the consecration of the host; the multitude, equal in the eye of God, without distinction of color, thronging to the balustrade to partake of the sacrament; and finally the concourse leaving the edifice with the parting benediction of their loved pastor. All these things occurring at the dead hour of night, were calculated to leave a lasting religious impress on their minds, and to form their characters to that honesty and its kindred virtues, which always struck with surprise and admiration the stranger who came into their midst.

On leaving the church, the members of the different families assembled together, and proceeded in a body to the house of the head, or patriarch of the family, to partake of the "*Reveillon.*" This was a breakfast, ample and abundant for all, and was an occasion for the expression and acknowledgment of those reciprocal sentiments and obligations which should ever exist in families, and which form the basis of social welfare.

The remainder of the day was spent in religious exercises at the church; and at night, if a few of the neighbors collected together in the house that had the largest hall, and there indulged in mirthful pastime, they felt sure that God would not be angered against them, for they believed that He was their Father, and not their task-maker.

I will now give an account of what became of the provis-

ions which were gathered by the young men on New Year's eve when they *ran the guignolée.*

The sixth day of January is the feast of the Epiphany, a feast commemorative of the adoration of the infant Jesus, by the kings who came from the east. This day was usually termed "*le jour des Rois*" — the day of the kings. On the eve of that day, at a house selected for the purpose, the young girls of the town were invited to prepare for a supper and dance. The provisions, which had been obtained by running the "*guignolée,*" were brought forth and soon transformed by the girls, under the superintendence of the matrons, into all kinds of savory dishes and delectable pastries, not forgetting the "*croquecignolles.*" A large cake, too, was baked, entirely for the girls, and in this were kneaded four beans. The table is spread, the supper soon disappears, and the dancing begins. They have no orchestra to drown the word of command; they have only the violin, but the player's ear is true, his fingers nimble and his bow-arm strong, his music thrills through their nerves. They know nothing of the waltz, or the mazurka, or the schottische, or the german, or the lancers, or the languid, listless walk which nowadays is termed dancing; but they know the good, old-fashioned contre-dance, and they spring to it with an activity and zest which prove that it is to them a real pleasure. The ball, however, is opened by some of the older, married people, and it is only after they have gone through the "*menuet de la cour,*" the Court Minuet, in a manner that would have done credit to the times of Louis XIV, that the young ones obtain the floor. During the evening, too, some old grandfather and grandmother join in the dance, and for a round or two exhibit their fancy steps, the "*aile de pigeon*" and the "*chassés and the battus*" just to give the young ones an idea of what they could do when they were young.

Just before the close of this pleasant reunion, shortly before midnight, the cake containing the beans, is produced, and each young girl cuts a slice, and the four whose fortune

it is to find the beans are declared Queens. Each of the queens then selects a young man to whom she presents a bouquet and proclaims him her King. Thereupon, a consultation is had, a night and a place are fixed upon for the first "*Bal de Rois*," — kings' ball, — at which all are free to attend without further invitation.

The expenses of this ball are borne by the four kings, thus enthroned — but let it not be supposed that these are heavy. The room and fuel cost nothing; the music, the lights, not gas, but tallow candles in sconces hung against the wall, and the refreshments consisting of coffee, "bouillon," — a most refreshing and invigorating game broth, a few pies, the inevitable "*croquecignolles*," a little cordial for the ladies and a little "ratafia" for the men; these have to be paid for but the aggregate expenses, when equally divided, was but a trifle to the four kings.

At the close of this first Kings' Ball, the queens selected new kings, and they selected new queens for the next kings' ball, and thus a series of festivities was kept up, during the whole of the Carnival.

In this manner were the advent of Christmas and New Year celebrated in the early days of St. Louis.

There may be some who listen to the details which I have given, and pass upon them a stern and unamiable judgment. But to those who are not prone to

> "Compound for sins they are inclined to
> By damning those they have no mind to,"

my simple narrative will afford one of the clues to the purity and truthfulness of character which pervaded the lives of the old Creoles of St. Louis. Few of them had book-learning; they laid no claim to erudition, but they were happy, for they nursed and cherished all those elements which constitute happiness. Ambition which assumes so many shapes, which desires to rule, to amass wealth, to direct fashion, to shine even in the pulpit, ambition was unknown to them, unless it was the ambition to

do good, to be kind, charitable and hospitable. Pride, covetousness and slander were scornfully pointed at as deformities in the social picture, and instead of these vices there reigned among them the virtues of an equality which admitted neither of caste nor family ancestry, of a charity which permitted none to suffer, of an honesty which dispensed with bolts and bars. They professed and practiced a loving and cheerful religion, which taught them to look up to their Creator, not with the somber eye of a fearful spirit, but with pleasant countenances, as to a Father who loved to see His children innocently enjoying the gifts of His hands.

There are still men living in our midst who knew St. Louis and its people prior to the change of government from Spanish to American, and who will bear me out in the truthfulness of the portraitures which I have barely sketched.

I dare not attempt the contrast between then and now; between a golden age and an age of gold. Each one can draw it for himself, and if he should by chance find that the scales of justice, probity, truth, charity, and good will, turn in favor of the times in which we now live, by all means let him obtain a patent for the discovery.

PIONEER WAYS.

☞ *Notice.*

The subscribers will take in payment of old debts —

Beef, pork, tobacco, tallow, lard, salt, sugar, country linen, beeswax and honey,

at the market prices, delivered in Franklin.

They will also give Goods or Cash for Pork or Tobacco.

HICKMAN & LAMME,

(*Missouri Intelligencer, Franklin, Mo., Aug. 5, 1822.*)

MISSOURI'S GERMAN IMMIGRATION.

BY E. D. KARGAU.[1]

Missouri was rather sparsely populated during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. It was, aside from a few small towns, a limited number of villages and single farms here and there, like the entire great West, more or less a wilderness, seldom penetrated by white men, and perhaps never by the foot of a German. The first representative of this nationality, of whom we know with certainty, was Gottfried Duden, who arrived in St. Louis in 1824, with the intention to become a farmer. He was a highly intelligent man with a classic education, had occupied several important positions under the Prussian government and had left his native land with the firm belief to find, under the western sky of the New World, the paradise he longed for. He purchased some land north of the Missouri river in Montgomery (now Warren) County, and made his home there. The glowing description in letters, pamphlets and books written by him, did not fail to make a deep impression in Germany, where he was well known and where his statements were received with the fullest confidence. Men women and children who had never thought of leaving their fatherland, resolved to emigrate, and Duden's accounts became the direct cause of the formation of what is now known as the Giessener Emigation Society, organized in 1833, in Giessen, grand-duchy of Hessen. Frederick Muench and Paul Follenius were the prime movers, and the original plan proposed by the latter was the foundation of a German colony in Arkansas, with an administration similar to that of the German system. This intention was abandoned, we may say luckily for those

[1] Ernest D. Kargau, journalist, born in 1832, in Gruenberg, Prussia, A resident of St. Louis since 1859, and for forty years connected with the German newspaper interest of St. Louis. The total loss of his sight in 1888 compelled him to relinquish active newspaper work, since which time he has dictated interesting articles for the public press.

interested — and Missouri substituted for Arkansas. The Giessener emigrants arrived here in 1834, in two divisions, one under the leadership of Muench, the other headed by Follenius. Among those who came with Muench was David Goebel, a professor of mathematics in the city of Coburg and these three may be considered the nucleus of a small coterie of men of letters and other attainments, who have done much for the improvement of this State in many directions.

They had wielded the pen, but had never handled the hoe; they had stood in the pulpit, but never behind a plow; they had lectured from the cathedra and pleaded in court, but had never driven an ox team; they were but little prepared for the hardships that were in store for them, but they brought with them sufficient energy and perseverance, diligence and frugality, to overcome most of the obstacles they had to encounter. They changed barren land into green meadows, stony acres into grain-growing fields and fruit-bearing orchards; they cultivated the soil and did much towards making Missouri an agricultural, horticultural, and even a wine-producing State. Frederick Muench was the son of a Protestant clergyman, a graduate of the Giessen University and afterwards his father's assistant; imbued with liberal and progressive ideas, even in regard to religion, and still more so in his political views, it was no wonder that the conditions prevailing in Germany after the Napoleonic wars of 1813 to '15 did not suit him; they awoke in him the desire to live in a country, in which personal liberty, freedom of speech and press were guaranteed by the constitution, in a land where equal rights were granted to all. He settled in the neighborhood of what had been Duden's farm, whose stay in this country had been not quite three years. Duden was an idealist, all theory and little practice, and when his expectations did not materialize, he returned to Germany, but did not cease to praise the great West, especially Missouri, and to promote the immigration into this State. Paul Follenius relinquished a lucrative law practice to make a home for himself and

his descendants under a Republican government; he also chose the present Warren County for his domicile. The difference between his former vocation and mode of life and that in his new surroundings would have made many others shrink back, but not so with him; like his friend Muench working from morning until night, he made his farm profitable and his home attractive, but the hardships of this sort of life made such an inroad upon his health, that his friends advised him to quit the farm and to seek another field of action; he leased his property and came to St. Louis to take editorial charge of a German paper, but this arrangement fell through so that he returned to his farm where he afterwards died. Geobel found it still more difficult to accustom himself to the life on his farm, which he had bought in Franklin County near the town of Washington. The professor of astronomy, mathematics, and geography, made a poor agriculturist and soon returned to St. Louis, leaving his wife and children to take care of the farm. He found employment in the United States Land Survey Office in this city as chief geometer, which place he occupied for many years, giving from time to time lectures in the aforesaid branches of science. His son, Gert Goebel, who may justly be called one of Missouri's pioneers, took, unlike his father, to farm life, with a laudable degree of enthusiasm. Young and active, with a strong constitution, work in field and barn agreed with him and the Goebel farm became, in course of time, a model.

Before continuing our narrative it must be mentioned that several German families of note had come to Missouri previous to any organized immigration, and they were the von Martels, von Bocks, Rassmuss, Huttawas, and others. Following Duden's advice they too settled near his former possessions where the town of Dutzow was founded by Mr. von Bock. E. K. Angelrodt made his home on the south side of the Missouri in the Bonhomme Bottom, but came to St. Louis within a short time, preferring city life to that in the country; he had been a prominent merchant, a member of

the Chamber of Deputies, and as such in opposition to the government. His coming to America was the result of difficulties with the reigning powers, but strange to say, soon after his arrival in St. Louis he was appointed Consul for Prussia, Saxony and other German States. Close to Angelrodt's farm was that of the brothers, Henry and Alexander Kayser, who came in 1833; Henry, the older, was an architect and civil engineer by profession; neither he nor his brother could make the farm a success; they sold it with great sacrifice and moved to St. Louis, where Henry opened a drawing school; later on he assisted in the survey of the Mississippi river and was appointed City Engineer when the office was created in 1839. He held the same for fifteen years, and the present sewer and drainage system of St. Louis is his work. His administration of the Comptroller's office (1871–73) was marked by the greatest ability and integrity. The Kayser family was also very prominent in social circles and four daughters married Dan Catlin, Ephron Catlin, Edgar C. Lackland and George B. Leighton. Alexander Kayser devoted himself to the study of law and became a distinguished member of the St. Louis bar. The parents of Arnold Krekel, whom President Lincoln appointed a Federal judge for the eastern district of Missouri, which office he held for thirty years, settled, in the year 1833, on a farm near St. Charles, where the son worked as a farm hand for many years before he commenced the study of jurisprudence. The Kribbens came about the same time; lived first in St. Louis County, then in St. Charles.

Bertram Kribben was a merchant and his son Christian one of the best known lawyers of St. Louis, but he found greater satisfaction in political life and was, up to the time of his death, a leader of the Democratic party of Missouri, which party possessed in him a powerful and influential orator who repeatedly represented the State in national conventions.

In William Palm, who came to St. Louis in 1835, this community acquired a citizen of superior qualifications, a man of the finest attainments, clear judgment and staunch

principles; he was a graduate of the Berlin School of Engineering and established in St. Louis the machine shops known as Palm's foundry, where were built the first locomotives for the Ohio and Mississippi and the Iron Mountain railroads. Palm organized the German Savings Institution and served his fellow-citizens during a number of years as presiding officer of the city council. He founded the chair of mechanical engineering at Washington University with a sufficient endowment, and willed a legacy of thirty thousand dollars to the same institution. The commercial community gained a very valuable addition in Adolphus Meier, whose arrival dates back to 1835; born in Bremen, next to Hamburg the most important German seaport, where he received not only a brilliant education, but a thorough mercantile training. He was but twenty-two years of age when he came to St. Louis fully equipped for mercantile enterprises. He first established a hardware store and soon thereafter embarked in the export business, making leaf tobacco and cotton a specialty; adding to this in course of time a cotton factory, a cotton compress plant and Bessemer steel works; he planned and built in 1848 a substantial road from East St. Louis (at that time called Illinoistown) to Belleville for the better transportation of coal and became the chief promoter of the Missouri Pacific and Kansas Pacific Railroads; the construction bonds of the latter road he successfully sold in Europe.

Christian Bimpage, a native of Mecklenburg, began the publication of a German weekly newspaper, the *Anzeiger des Westens*, in 1835, and engaged the following year Wm. Weber as editor; the great ability of the latter, his always unbiased judgment, his outspoken frankness and liberal views gave to the paper a well deserved prestige; it soon became a tri-weekly and in 1846 a daily, but it was a financial success only through the accession of Arthur Olshausen who, in 1844, went into partnership with Weber (Bimpage had withdrawn in 1842), and devoted himself to the business management. To the same period of immigration belong two men, whose names have

become famous in the world of science: Dr. George Engelmann and Dr. Adolph Wislizenus; both were excellent physicians, but they were still more celebrated for their achievements in other fields of science; they traveled extensively and participated in several expeditions for the exploration of the Western and Southwestern territories. Engelmann's botanical and geological work received the highest encomium from the savants of both hemispheres. Scientific bodies at home and abroad elected him to corresponding membership. Wislizenus was an acknowledged authority through his observations and writings in reference to the meteorological, geological, and physical conditions of this country. A number of his writings were published by the United States Government.

John H. Fisse came to St. Louis in 1836; for many years was a successful dry goods merchant, and during two terms a very efficient member of the County Court, simultaneously with Chas. Speck, its presiding justice, who for over thirty years was at the head of one of the most prominent wholesale firms of St. Louis, and after his retirement from commercial pursuits was appointed to the office of U. S. Internal Revenue Collector. The Taussigs, some of whom came in the first half of the forties, gave the St. Louis County Court one of its ablest and best presiding judges—Dr. William Taussig, to whose great financial ability and administrative talent St. Louis is indebted for the Eads bridge and the Terminal Railway system, and the magnificent Union Station.

In 1837 the first German colonists settled in Gasconade County, founding the town of Hermann on the south bank of the Missouri river. Johann George Wesselhoeft, the proprietor and publisher of a German paper in Philadelphia, together with other Germans of that city, formed in 1836 an association for the promotion of German settlements in the Western States, and Hermann, Mo., is the offspring of this movement. Wesselhoeft himself had, in pursuit of this plan, traveled extensively in this part of the country, and ultimately selected as most adaptable the

site where Hermann now stands. The society bought twelve thousand acres of land, all of which, excepting that part reserved for the town proper, was subdivided for farming purposes and offered for sale at very low prices, as an inducement for colonists. It was but a short time until quite a number of desirable, energetic emigrants had availed themselves of the liberal terms and acquired farms. They were all Germans, hailing from different parts of the fatherland; they were industrious, economical and of frugal habits. The vineclad hills of Hermann and its vicinity, the modest but neat dwellings, the well-kept streets and their mode of living are ample proof of the thriftiness of the inhabitants of that locality. Fruit culture, especially wine growing, is the principal source of their prosperity, and is continued to the present day. It will not be out of place to mention some of the men whose vintages and orchards became in course of time the pride of their owners. Michael Poeschel, one of the first settlers, caused the Hermann wines to be known far and wide; George Husmann, for many years connected with the statistical bureau of the United States Department of Agriculture, and in a like capacity for the State of California, and professor at the Horticultural College at Napa, California, settled in Hermann in 1838, where he established an extensive nursery for the specific purpose of improving the grape culture of this country; Jacob Rommel, Rhodius Rasche, Melchior and Wm. Poeschel were among the early wine growers of this section of Missouri. But Hermann was not the only grape district of our State. Augusta in St. Charles County; Marthasville, and Femme Osage in Warren County and the vicinity of Washington, on the north side of the Missouri river, were likewise chosen as wine-producing regions. George Muench, a younger brother of Frederick, whom he had followed to America three years later, settled in Augusta, or more correctly stated, had called the place by that name and devoted himself with such energy to fruit and wine culture, that his farm was soon considered a model one even by experts.

Like his brother, he had been a Protestant pastor at home, and both were by no means inclined to permit their pen to be idle. Frederick Muench wrote several books on Missouri, setting forth its resources, and which were largely distributed over all Germany. His writings brought thousands of emigrants across the ocean and to Missouri. He took an active part in politics, was a strong opponent of slavery, became a member of the State Senate and after the creation of the State Board of Immigration, its correspondent for foreign countries. Gert Goebel sat in the lower branch of the legislature, and was the author of a very interesting book on pioneer life in Missouri. The German press of St. Louis received from this trio of early settlers numerous valuable contributions. Their names were familiar throughout the State. Arnold Krekel, of whom we have already spoken, also participated in politics and presided over the convention, which gave the State a new constitution and declared itself in favor of abolition of slavery.

The revolutionary movements of 1848 and 1849 in France, Germany, and Austria, resulted in a vast emigration to the United States, the overwhelming majority from the different German countries; Missouri and especially St. Louis, received a large share, so that it is in order, therefore, to speak of it as the second period of German immigration into Missouri. The first period brought us exclusively men of learning and standing, which cannot be said in reference to all the later comers; they were divided, so to speak, in two classes, men of the higher culture and such with but little education. Physicians, lawyers, clergymen, teachers, professional men of all branches, artists, merchants, farmers, officials, etc., constituted the quintessence of the intelligent part; mechanics, peasants, journeymen, and laborers of all classes, formed the bulk of the other, but all came with the intention to live henceforth under the stars and stripes, to make this country their home and to become citizens of this, the greatest Republic on earth. It is significant that those belonging to the

earlier period had with few exceptions preferred to settle in the interior of the State and that those of the second period showed a decided preference for the city. St. Louis, as we know, bore originally an outspoken French character even during the first quarter of the century; the emigration from Ireland, Germany and Bohemia made the city more or less cosmopolitain. The German element was in great preponderance among the new-comers, so that at least a part of the city became in a measure Germanized. The proverbial industry, patience and frugality of the German mechanic and laborer was the basis of their success in a foreign country; these qualities made them well liked; they found employment and gave satisfaction to their employers; those of mercantile pursuits were very welcome as clerks in American business houses and not a few of them became in course of time partners in some of the largest firms. Others who came here with sufficient means, established at once a business of their own, met with success and many of our most prominent firms originated from that period; this was particularly the case in the wholesale grocery, the flour and milling, the grain, produce and commission branches. The industrial field was by no means neglected, the beginning was in most cases very modest and small but perseverance and integrity found sooner or later the deserved reward and it may be said almost every industrial pursuit has these many years been well represented by German firms. This nationality has furnished many presidents, vice-presidents and directors of the Merchants Exchange, the Cotton Exchange; numerous bank presidents and cashiers of the highest ability; likewise in the insurance line, and the commercial community at large are found a large number of prominent German names. One of our most important traffic corporations owes its success and constant improvement to the ability of Henry C. Haarstick, who came to St. Louis in 1849 and who made the Mississippi Valley Transportation Company the basis of our grain and flour export trade to Europe.

The medical profession of St. Louis gained some of its most distinguished representatives from the ranks of German physicians, as per example Drs. Hammer, Bauer, Baumgarten, Bernays, Hauck, Fisher, Bremer, Gebser, Fischel, Roesch, Spiegelhalter, Starkloff, Luedeking, Kolbenheyer Hambach, Gundelach, Alt, Barck, Wolfner, and others. The foundation of our Academy of Science was the meritorious work of Dr. Engelmann senior and his life-long friend and colleague Wislizenus, and several other organizations of similar character owe their existence to German citizens of St. Louis. The legal profession presents the names of such well-known attorneys and judges as Woerner, Lubke, Rombauer, Klein, Fischer, Rassieur, Finkelnburg, Kehr, Taussig, Nagel, Muench, Tittmann, and others. The "Forty-eighters" which name was given to those whose participation in the revolution of '48 and '49 had compelled them to place the Atlantic between themselves and German prisons, and in some instances the execution of a death sentence, included in their ranks a class of men who were particularly instrumental in the development of the German-American press, but as we deal here exclusively with our own State, we can only point to the following journalists of note: Henry Boernstein, Theodore Olshausen, Carl Daenzer, Dr. Emil Preetorius, C. L. Bernays, Dr. George Hillgaertner, John Rittig, Daniel Hertle, and Dr. E. Preuss. It was but natural that the German element commenced to take an active part in politics at an early day, but more so after the organization of the Republican party, though many have not severed their affiliations with the Democracy. We will not speak in detail of those who in course of time occupied various positions in the town, city, county, and State administration, but will only mention that Carl Schurz represented our State in the U. S. Senate; that Finkelnburg, Kehr, Sessinghaus, Frank, Niedringhaus, and Bartholdt, sat in the House of Representatives. The following were at divers times members of the State legislature: Anthony Ittner, Henry J. Spaunhorst, Hy. C. Brockmeyer (Lieutenant-

Governor under the Phelps administration), Dr. Preetorius, Isidor Bush, F. Roever, M. Friede, J. H. Amelung, Chas. Schweickardt, H. F. Busche, etc. Among the teachers we can point to Fred Steins, Theodor Poesche, Franz Sigel, I. Eyser, and especially to the present superintendent of our public schools, F. Louis Soldan. The musical life of St. Louis was for a long time a rather primitive one, and hardly worth the name. A remarkable change in this respect came with the third quarter of the century, when German musicians and music teachers made this city their home, arousing a warm interest in musical matters in the home circles, as well as publicly. The organization of good church choirs, musical and singing societies, amateur and professional orchestras in our midst, must, with but few exceptions, be attributed to our German fellow-citizens, and their achievements in this field of art are certainly entitled to recognition and praise.

The influx of German immigrants after the great exodus from Europe during the first half of the fifties, continued in that and the next decade, but it was more sporadic than before, and became rather insignificant in the last twenty years. Some parts of the State contain a larger percentage of Germans than others, but as a rule they are well scattered, as indicated by the names of many towns in different counties, as per example: Berlin, Dresden, Frankfort, Baden, Altenburg, Arnsberg, Altheim, Bismarck, Concordia, Frankenstein, Freistadt, Potsdam, Martinsburg, Germania, Holstein, Rheinland, Strasburg, Wien, Wittenburg, Starkenburg, Steinmetz, Steinhagen, Weingarten, Hainburg, New Frankfort, etc.

That Missouri, a slave and a border State, did remain in the Union instead of joining the Confederacy, was in a great measure due to the firm stand which its German population took at the outbreak of the civil war. The first four regiments that went into the field from this State to fight for the preservation of the Union, were entirely composed of Germans; from the drummer boy in his teens to the graybearded veteran, who had served in the

Prussian or other German armies, from shop, store, counting room and office rushed these adopted citizens to arms, to prevent the destruction of the republic; they were unfaltering in their loyalty; in St. Louis and in the entire State, they sacrificed not only their personal interests but also blood and life, as innumerable gravestones in our national and other cemeteries bear witness. And when the war had come to an end, those who had not become its victims returned to their firesides and to their peaceful occupations. They are law-abiding, orderly, industrious and as a class duly devoted to the good and welfare of the community in which they live, and of the country at large. It is true and shall not be denied, that they adhere more or less to many customs of the old country across the sea. But that does not hinder or prevent them from being just as patriotic as the descendants of Pilgrim fathers or the sons of the old Dominion. They have identified and are still identifying themselves with all the interests of the commonwealth and the process of amalgamation is so visibly progressing that the reproach of being clannish, not always made without some degree of justification, will in due time be heard no more. The stars and stripes float over and for us all. Our interests are mutual, our aims one and the same, whatever our nationality or that of our ancestors may be.

THE MISSOURI COUNTRY.

"The emigration to this country continues to an unparalleled extent. This is probably the easiest unsettled country in the world to commence farming in.

The emigrant has only to locate himself on the edge of a prairie, and he has the one-half of his farm a heavy forest and the other half a fertile plain or meadow, he has then only to fence in his ground and put in his crop."

(*Extract. Brown's Western Gazetteer or Emigrant's Directory, Auburn, N. Y., 1817.*)

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KIT CARSON.

WM. F. SWITZLER, COLUMBIA, MO.

RUN AWAY AS AN APPRENTICE TO LEARN THE SADDLER'S TRADE AND ONE CENT REWARD ADVERTISED FOR HIS ARREST AND RETURN — GREAT WESTERN TRAPPER, GUIDE, FRONTIERSMAN, SCOUT, AND SOLDIER.

Christopher Carson, who is almost universally called "Kit Carson," was born in Madison County, Ky., on December 24, 1809, and died at Fort Lynn, Colorado, May 23, 1868, in the 58th year of his age. As a trapper, guide, frontiersman, scout, and soldier he is a very picturesque and interesting character; few, if any, are more so in Western annals, and much in a disconnected and incorrect form has been written and published about him.

Unlike Daniel Boone, however, no exhaustive biography of Kit Carson in book form has appeared. His remarkable career, even as a guide to Col. John C. Fremont in his first expedition across the plains in 1843, and those in later years, is recorded in fragmentary shape and chiefly in newspaper articles. No surprise, therefore, need be expressed that many incidents of his life are the coinage of the imaginative brains of sensational writers.

Be it the mission of this brief narrative to winnow the wheat from the chaff and to disentangle the intertwisted web of improbable and contradictory recital.

Two years after Kit's birth his father, Lindsay Carson, emigrated with his family with many others from Madison County, Ky., to Howard County, Missouri, and settled in Cooper's Bottom on the rich alluvial lands situated on the Missouri river and between what the reader will now know as Old Franklin, and Boonsborough (near Boon's Salt Lick) in Howard, or Arrow Rock in Saline.

Soon after this time several hundred families from Madison County, Ky., emigrated to the same section. Hostile Indians abounded on both sides of the river, and in such

numbers as to render it necessary for protection against them that three stockade forts be built, separated from each other by only a few miles — Forts Kincaid, Hempstead, and Cooper, the first named in honor of a prominent family of that name who aided in its erection, the second after Edward Hempstead of St. Louis, first territorial delegate to Congress from Missouri, and the last in honor of Capt. Sarshell Cooper who, with eleven other settlers named Cooper, lived in the fort. On the night of April 14, 1814, Sarshell Cooper was killed by an Indian while sitting with one of his children on his knee at his own fireside in his cabin, the outside wall of which formed a part of Cooper's Fort. The Indian in the darkness of the night made an opening between the logs, through which he discharged his rifle and escaped. The child was unhurt. Lindsay Carson, Kit's father, together with Andrew and Moses Carson, brothers of Lindsay, first lived in Fort Hempstead, afterward in Fort Cooper, where Mrs. Mary Rubey, a sister of the famous trapper and scout, was born in 1813. In recent years she made her home with her daughter, Mrs. Ella Oglesby, at Warrensburg, Johnson County, Mo., where she died October 25, 1899, age 86.

Lindsay, the elder Carson, was accidentally killed near the fort while making a "clearing" for a field. The precise year is not known. The woods of the "clearing" accidentally got afire, and he and a negro boy who was working with him attempted to extinguish the flames. While doing so a large limb of one of the burning trees fell upon Carson and instantly killed him.

It was the intention of Kit's father to educate him as best he could for a lawyer. Why so marvelous an ambition should have influenced Lindsay Carson amid such untoward environments, will never be known. Kit was a wild boy of the frontier with no taste for books or study full of fight and adventure, and even if in reach of schools, of education and law libraries, furnished about as unpromising material for a lawyer as could have been well imagined. With the death of his father, however, seems

also to have died all intention to manufacture a lawyer out of Kit.

By much persuasion his widowed mother got his consent to learn the saddler's trade in David Workman's shop at Franklin. Mr. Workman was a well-known saddle, bridle and harness maker, and even at that early day had a prosperous business. Kit agreed to abandon his gun and the sports of forest and stream, and his mother bound him in due form of law to Mr. Workman as an apprentice. It was soon discovered, however, that Kit did not take kindly to hammers and awls, tacks, buckles, needles and leather; and the prospect was not inviting that he would ever become a master workman, although David Workman was his master.

Franklin has grown into a town of great importance and of several thousand population. It was an outfitting point of the Santa Fe traders, and the adjacent country was rapidly increasing in population. Kit was 16 or 17 years of age, and about this time (1825–26) his three elder brothers — Robert, Hamilton, and William Carson — caught the Santa Fe trade infection and fitted out an expedition and started for that far-off country. Of course the restless, adventure-loving apprentice to the saddler's trade yearned with an irrepressible desire to exchange it for the Santa Fe trade. But he was a legally-bound apprentice and his time and services belonged to David Workman, and he could not go. Nevertheless, he did go, as the following advertisement shows. I have a fully bound file of the *Missouri Intelligencer*, a weekly newspaper started at Franklin on April 23, 1819, by Nathaniel Patten, and published till 1835. It was the first paper published in Missouri outside of St. Louis. From its issue of October 12, 1826, I copy the following: —

"NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN TO ALL PERSONS

"That Christopher Carson, a boy about 16 years old, small of his age, but thick-set, light hair, ran away from

the subscriber living in Franklin, Howard County, Missouri, to whom he had been bound to learn the saddler's trade, on or about the first of September last. He is supposed to have made his way towards the upper part of the State. All persons are notified not to harbor, support, or assist said boy under the penalty of the law. One cent reward will be given to any person who will bring back the said boy. Franklin, Oct. 6, 1826. (16–3.) David Workman."

It was soon ascertained that by some means unknown Kit laid hands on a mule and pursued the train and pack animals of his brothers toward Independence and reached that place just as they were leaving it for this long march across the plains. They were surprised to see him ride into camp. According to one account, his brothers consented to his joining them. They could not force him to return to Franklin and were unwilling to desert him to his fate. According to another account they told him to go back home and Kit started, but before he reached there turned the mule loose, declared his independence and struck out for himself. Which account is true does not appear. But it is true "said boy" did not report again to Mr. Workman and did not again appear in Franklin for many years.

It is most probable he accompanied his brothers' train to Santa Fe, and in course of time adopted "the wild and woolly West" as his home, and hunting, trapping and trading instead of making saddles as his occupation. The Indians became his chief associates, and he soon learned their language, customs and activities of life. It was not many years until he was fascinated by a young Indian girl and married her. In a few years she died, leaving him a little daughter, Adaline, who was handsome, and in form and features resembled her mother. By the time she reached mature girlhood, Kit had become famous as a great Western scout and guide, and determined if possible to educate his daughter. For this purpose he thought of re-

turning to his old Missouri home and taking Adaline with him. He put his purpose into execution, and when about a day's journey from Franklin he was almost overcome by misgivings as to the reception he and his little half-breed Indian daughter would receive by his kindred.

Hesitating to confront the unsolved problem, he persuaded Adaline to remain with the family with whom they had spent the night until he could visit his old home alone and ascertain how his people were disposed toward him, and the manner in which they would receive, if at all, his daughter by an Indian squaw. Greatly to the delight of the returning prodigal, he found for himself and little Indian daughter a warm place in the hearts of all his kindred. He at once returned and brought Adaline to them, and she was greeted with demonstrations of joy by kinsfolk she had never met, and who had lived all their lives among civilized "pale-faces."

After a time he prepared to return to his far-distant home, and to associates whose hunting and trapping grounds extended westward to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. He left his daughter with one of his sisters who placed her in Howard's Female College in Fayette, where she was liberally educated. On the completion of her college course, Adaline was taken by her father to California, where she married and settled with her husband on a large stock ranch. Some of Carson's biographers say she was educated in St. Louis, but this is a mistake.

Some years after the death of his Indian wife, Carson married Donna Jocfa Jaramillo, a Mexican woman, by whom he had six children, all now residents of New Mexico as far as I know. She was the sister of the wife of Governor Bent of that territory.

From Santa Fe, after leaving his brothers — as we learn from Upham's Life of Fremont: "he went into the lower Mexican provinces, following various adventures; among others he was employed for some time as a teamster, in connection with the copper mines of Chihuahua, and afterward became a trapper in the region of the Rio Colo-

rado of California. After many perils he returned to Taos in New Mexico and joined a trapping party to the headwaters of the Arkansas, and spent about eight years in that occupation, principally among the mountains where the Missouri and Columbia rivers take their rise. The business of trapping was then in its most flourishing state, and formed a class of men of marked and striking traits. Nature in her original aspects, and in all her wildness and grandeur, was their home. Savages — fierce, brave and stealthy — met them at every point, and privation, danger, and suffering, were an ordinary experience. This mode of life, and its perfect freedom and excitements and achievements, were favorable in many respects to the development of noble energies and sentiments. Carson soon became pre-eminent in these characteristics, and was famous as a successful trapper, unerring shot, and reliable guide and leader. In conflicts with hostile Indians he conducted many a daring and victorious enterprise. In one of these conflicts with the Blackfeet Indians he received a rifle ball in his left shoulder, the only personal injury (with one exception) he ever met in battle." This exception is noted later.

Notwithstanding the life he led, he was kind-hearted and averse to personal quarrels and scenes of tumult. Only one exception breaks the record of his life in respect to personal encounters, as follows: —

In 1835, Rev. Samuel Parker made an exploring and missionary tour under the auspices of the American Board of Foreign Missions, beyond the Rocky Mountains, and as far as the settlements on the Columbia river. The incident in hand occurred on August 12th, at a point on Green river beyond the South Pass, which had been selected for Indians, trappers and hunters to bring to market their peltries and obtain supplies from the agents of the fur companies.

There had assembled a large concourse of savage tribes and other denizens of the wilderness — Frenchmen, Spaniards, Dutchmen, Canadians and backwoodsmen generally. Rev. Parker was also there rather accidentally and saw the strange gathering, and realized that amid so many rude

characters and different nationalities conflicts were liable to arise.

It was not long before a French hunter named Shunan, well known as "the big bully of the mountains," came dashing defiantly around on his horse with a loaded rifle challenging any man of any nationality to meet him in single combat. He loudly boasted of his exploits and bravery and indulged in the most insulting and insolent language, particularly against Americans, whom he denounced as only worthy of being whipped with switches. Kit Carson was in the crowd, and, feeling insulted by the taunt, could not suppress the patriotic national pride which kindled in his bosom. He therefore promptly stepped forward and said to the big French bully: "I am an American, the most trifling one among them, but if you want to die, I will accept your challenge."

Shunan scorned and defied him, whereupon Carson leaped upon his horse with a loaded pistol, and instantly the deadly conflict began. Each fired at the same moment, but Carson an instant the quickest. The ball from his pistol entered Shunan's right hand, came out at the wrist, and passed up the arm to the elbow, completely disabling the limb. Shunan's ball simply grazed Carson's cheek near the left eye, cutting off a lock of his hair, and doing him no damage. "The big bully of the mountains" was at Carson's mercy and instantly and piteously begged for his life, and Carson magnanimously spared it.

This incident put a stop to all attempts to insult Americans, by insolence and braggadocio, for after its conclusion the Americans were cocks of the walk with Kit Carson at their head.

John Charles Fremont was born in Savannah, Georgia, January 21, 1813; received a good education in Charleston College, South Carolina; taught mathematics; turned his attention to civil engineering; July 7, 1838, during Van Buren's administration, was commissioned a lieutenant of

topographical engineers, and proposed to the War Department (Poinsett, Secretary), to penetrate the Rocky Mountain region. His plan was approved and he explored the South Pass in 1842 and afterward Oregon and California. October 19, 1841, he married a daughter of Senator Benton, who survives him at Los Angeles, California; he died July 13, 1890.

Fremont's first exploring party was collected in St. Louis and consisted principally of Creoles and Canadian voyagers, who had been trained to prairie life and wilderness adventures, twenty-two in number. Kit Carson, then celebrated the world over for his genius and exploits as a mountaineer, was appointed guide of the expedition. He accidentally met Lieut. Fremont on a steamboat near St. Louis and was then and there engaged to accompany the exploring party on its perilous march.

I cannot follow the party by prairie, wilderness and flood to the foot of the Rocky Mountains and up its highest peak where never human foot had stood before, and where Fremont and Carson hoisted the American flag, looking down upon the snow a thousand feet below. Suffice it the expedition was accomplished and the party returned to St. Louis in safety on October 17, 1842. On the 23d of the month Lieut. Fremont reported himself to the chief of his corps in the city of Washington.

Early in the spring of 1843, Fremont started on his second expedition, with Kit Carson as guide, whom he was delighted to meet again at the point where the Boiling Spring river enters the Arkansas. Fremont's instructions were to connect his explorations of the preceding year with the surveys of Commander Wilkes on the Pacific Coast, so as to give a connected view of the great interior tracts of the continent.

This expedition was not accomplished until August, 1844. It is wholly impracticable in a short sketch of this character to record the countless exploits of Kit Carson, many of them exhibiting examples of marvelous daring and dauntless courage. Nor can I follow him during Fremont's

third and last expedition on which he entered in the fall of 1845 during the administration of President Tyler who with the advice and consent of the Senate conferred upon him a brevet commission of Captain in the Corps of Topographical Engineers. In this expedition he went by the northern headwaters of the Arkansas, at that time the boundary line of the country, to the south side of the Great Salt Lake, and thence directly across the central basin towards California, in a route in which he was the first explorer.

After the close of the second expedition, Carson promised Fremont that if a third was undertaken he would join it. In the meantime he had bought a farm near Taos, New Mexico, and settled upon it, intending thenceforth to lead a quiet life. On reaching Bent's Fort, however, Fremont sent a message to Carson reminding him of his promise and that he would wait for him at the fort. Regarding his promise as sacred, and entertaining a strong affection for his old commander, Carson sold his farm at a sacrifice and joined the expedition in four days after he received the message. He put his family, consisting of a wife and several children, under the care of Governor Bent, whose wife was a sister of Carson's wife. Afterwards the Indians attacked Taos and massacred Governor Bent and others, Mrs. Carson saving her life by timely flight.

Carson's services during the third expedition were as usual invaluable and on several occasions of signal intrepidity and daring. But I have not space for the narrative.

One of his old comrades said of him: "Wherever railroads now run and trails are followed, Kit Carson led the way, and his footprints are all along the route." In a letter written from California in 1847, introducing Carson as the bearer of dispatches to the government, Col. Fremont says: "With me Carson and truth mean the same thing. He is always the same — gallant and disinterested."

Carson was a Union man. In 1861 he enlisted in the Union army and was appointed Colonel of the first regi-

ment of New Mexico Volunteer Infantry. Afterward he was made Brigadier General of Volunteers. In all engagements he acquitted himself gallantly, and when the Confederates abandoned New Mexico he was assigned to special duty against the Indians by Gen. Carlton. At the close of the civil war he was appointed reservation agent, and although the Indians knew him as a determined foe in a fight they respected and trusted him as a friend. He frequently acted as interpreter for the chiefs, and the last public act of his life was a journey to Washington City with the Ute Chiefs.

In the fall of 1857, W. F. Drannan met Kit Carson and Jim Bridger at Taos, N. M., with the intention of going into a district which is now Montana and trap on some new ground where they would find plenty of beaver and otter.

They pulled out from Taos, going by way of the spot on which Denver now stands and on down Ash Hollow. Near Ash Hollow they met Gen. Harney, the veteran Indian fighter. Next day they crossed the Bad Lands and struck the Yellowstone river near where it empties into the Missouri. They were aiming to get into the country known as the Bozeman Valley where they believed trapping good and little danger from Indians. On their way they encountered no trouble until they struck the top of the divide leading down to Bozeman valley. There they made a camp for the night and the next morning while packing their pack animals were attacked by about twenty Blackfoot Indians. They killed two of their animals, but neither of the men was hurt. It was a pretty fierce little battle for a few minutes. After it was all over Carson said to Bridger: "Jim, this is your fight, and we'll call this 'Bridger's pass.'" The pass goes by that name to this day.

They went on their way to the divide between the East and West Gallatin rivers, picked a location where they had the advantage of the ground and camped for the night. It was

broad daylight the next morning when they reached the West Gallatin and attempted to cross it. Carson (Drannan says) took the lead, each of the three men having eight pack horses when they started out, tailed single file.

When Carson started across the stream they had not seen an Indian. Just as his saddle horse got out of the water, however, the Indians raised a yell and began shooting at Carson's horses with their bows and arrows. His last horse fell in the mud and water mortally wounded. The water was two to three feet deep. Of course Bridger and Drannan could do nothing but sit there and fire at the Indians. Carson jumped from his saddle to cut his dead horse loose in order that Bridger and Drannan could pass.

As Carson turned to his saddle horse again he was shot with an arrow under the left shoulder-blade. When Bridger and Drannan got out of the water the latter saw the arrow still sticking in Carson's shoulder and ran up to him and said: "Uncle Kit, let me pull that arrow out."

"All right," he said, "but be careful, Willie, and pull it out straight and don't break it off."

He succeeded in getting the arrow out without breaking it, but the wound bled fearfully. Carson soon got so weak that he was not able to guide his saddle horse and they tailed him behind Bridger's pack train.

With great difficulty they assuaged the pain of the arrow wound and finally got Carson back to Taos. He never recovered from this wound, although he lived a number of years. The physician who attended him in his last illness said it was that arrow wound that caused his death. It formed a tumor on the inside and when the tumor broke his last words were: "Good-bye, doctor."

He died at Fort Lynn, Colorado, May 23, 1868, and was buried at old Taos cemetery, New Mexico, and the G. A. R. and other friends erected a fine monument to his memory. The rifle he carried for 35 years is now in possession of the Masonic Lodge at Santa Fe, of which he was for many years a loyal member.

WITH SCHOOLCRAFT IN SOUTHWEST MISSOURI IN 1818.[1]

LEVI PETTIBONE.[2]

During my early residence in Missouri, I was not particularly engaged in business, but really waiting for something to "turn up." I became acquainted with Henry R. Schoolcraft, Esq., a practical mineralogist, who invited me to accompany him on an exploration tour through Southwest Missouri to see the country and to ascertain something more than was then generally known of the lead mines and mineral deposits said to be plentiful over much of that country. This information was for Mr. Schoolcraft alone. I being somewhat of a wanderer and adventurer and fancying such a wild adventurous trip, readily assented. We started from Potosi (Mine-a-Burton) in Washington County about the middle of October, 1818, provided with necessaries and some conveniences. Taking a near southwest course to Ashley's Cave, between eighty and one hundred miles from Potosi, to which place we had a trail, enough used to be followed. Ashley's Cave had been a place of manufacture of saltpeter, and was situated on the extreme head of what is known as Current river, a fork of Black river, which empties into White river of Arkansas. Arriving at Ashley's Cave we considered ourselves entitled to a rest, which extended over three days: game was abundant, especially turkeys, which we would

[1] "A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri." Henry R. Schoolcraft. N. Y. 1819. "Adventures in the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas." Phil. 1853.

[2] Extract from his Autobiography — Manuscript among the Society's Collections. Levi Pettibone was a citizen of Missouri for 65 years. Born at Norfolk, Conn., Dec. 17, 1780; emigrated to Missouri in 1817. After living in St. Louis for several years, he removed to Pike County, where he resided for 60 years, holding several offices of public trust, among others the office of treasurer for many years. He died at St. Louis, June 24th, 1881, age 101 years.

watch on their way to their roosting places and shoot from off the trees after dark.

On our next move we passed over an elevated and rather rough trail dividing the waters running to the Missouri and White rivers and met with a little river which ran east of north which we supposed to be the Gasconade, a tributary of the Missouri. Adhering to our southwest course we meet further rough elevated land and that for some distance; finally reaching the north fork of White river which ran to the east of south, we inadvertently followed down this stream, further than we should have done, hoping it would bring us to White river, which it eventually would have done, but by an ever-increasing distance from upper White river and James Fork where we especially wished to go.

After we had followed this north fork probably two hundred miles, and knowingly, in a direction contrary to which we wished to go — we bolted from it, westwardly, and passed a most abomnible scraggy ridge, upon which we found a trail which led us to a family settled upon Bennet's fork of White river — twenty-six days after leaving Mine-a-Burton.

We had seen no human faces other than our own during this time, although we had heard some shooting in the woods during the past few days, and which we supposed and afterwards learned were Indians who although invited by our shouting would not show themselves.

From the family on Bennet's creek we obtained full information of the way we wished to go — and passing another scraggy ridge we came upon a fairly plain trail that showed it was used by horses. Following this trail we came in a few miles to a family settled on the opposite side of White river at the mouth of Little North fork. These people putting us on the way to upper White river we traveled on to the mouth of Swan creek, where the families of James Fisher and Wm. Holt resided, and where afterwards the town of Forsythe, the county seat of Taney county, was established. James Fisher and Wm. Holt were

the pioneers of that region, there being no other settlers on upper White river. Fisher and Holt went with us some 75 or 80 miles through the wilderness to the upper branches of James fork, in what is now Green County, showing us several mines of lead about there, with assurances that lead was plentiful all over that country.

From our first night in the wilderness after leaving Mine-a-Burton we were sure to be serenaded by wolves while sleeping at our camp fires, howling in near vicinity to our camp. At first we were disposed to make war on them but after becoming accustomed to their ways, we let them howl to their hearts' content. Hunters told us that wolves would follow, for weeks at a time, the hunters and travelers through the wilderness, cleaning up the camp sites and offal of game killed.

I will mention an incident regarding these animals, which happened on our way from White river to James Fork. We were making our way along one morning as best we could with our means of travel, with two horses for the four persons which composed our party, the horses being rode alternately. There was a heavy fall of snow and shortly before noon we discovered some turkeys in the trees; a halt was called that our hunter might kill one or more of the birds for supper. This was done without difficulty, save the delay of an hour or two in killing and dressing them, which delay was hardly reckoned an interruption, as the traveling was about as bad as it could possibly be. During the afternoon the snow stopped falling; we were traveling along slowly, resolving to encamp at the first place suitable for that purpose. We came upon a little run of water within a grove of timber, which afforded some shelter. We made preparations for the night and I discovered the loss of my pocket handkerchief which I concluded must have been dropped where the turkeys had been shot, for I remembered having used it; there was enough time to return and recover it which I concluded to do as a handkerchief was of too much value out there in the wilderness to be aban-

doned, especially when it could be recovered. I set out on the back track, our tracks in the snow being an unmistakable guide; about half way between where the stop had been made for the turkeys and our camp our hunter had also shot a deer, which we skinned and cut off the fleece, that is, the meat had been stripped off the bones — the carcass being left for whom it may concern. This being directly on my way I soon saw that our friends the wolves had found the spoils, and of which each one had been helping himself according the wolfish ways; there were signs of the deer's carcass having been dragged hither and thither but not a wolf did I see, they having seen or heard me coming and retired to a respectful distance until I had passed on. There were no explanations — the case explained itself. I went on, recovered my prized handkerchief from the fallen tree where I had left it. On my return to our camp, in passing the banqueting place of the wolves, I saw that the deer's carcass had been entirely consumed, the parts having been widely scattered since my passing but a short while before. There seemed to have been a large number of them but they were very courteous to strangers and behaved themselves most decorously for I saw none of them either going or coming. The next morning our hunter, in making a circuit around the camp in search of game, shot a wolf — one of the party no doubt which had sumptuously feasted the day before. We skinned the wolf and his carcass proved a feast to his friends of the day previous.

On the third day following we reached the headwaters of James Fork of White river, at a bend some miles from where the town of Springfield was started. Here Mr. Schoolcraft was shown lead ore in abundance at several places — it seemed to be very plentiful all about there. At a place where we camped, a rude shed had been put up, together with a very crude sort of a contrivance for smelting lead, the work no doubt of Indians. The smelter consisted of a fireplace of stone put up in a very primitive manner, sufficient, however, to confine the fire, but show-

ing also from its form and appearance in general that it was not intended for permanency, a large flat stone laid somewhat sloping to permit the molten metal to run off into bars or blocks, formed the bottom of this furnace.

The conclusion reached by us was that Southwest Missouri although a vast wilderness was capable of improvement and presented many inducements to settlers; after ascertaining the richness of the country in the possible production of lead, we turned our faces to the south, making our way back to White River. Our guides being familiar with the trails we were in due time back at the mouth of Swan creek; shortly before reaching Swan creek, which we did on a warm winter's day in January, we were surprised to hear the buzzing of bees; their store of honey our hunters and guides resolved to secure as a present to their folks at home. After some search the tree was found and felled and quite a store of the delicious sweet secured; how to transport it seemed a puzzle to me, but our hunters were equal to the task. Taking a fresh deer hide, the edges of which they brought together and fastened with thongs, forming a somewhat crude contrivance, but in it, and by packing it on one of the horses, quite a large quantity of the honey was saved. Some we ate, and the remainder was left for other sweet-toothed animals. Upon our arrival at White river we purchased a dugout (canoe) from some hunters, and in it started on a voyage down the never forgotten White river — finding hospitable quarters almost every night for a distance of almost three hundred miles to Batesville, at the crossing of the road from St. Louis to Little Rock; here we sold our canoe and cargo. The following names are of people whom we stopped with on our way down the river: Fisher, Holt, Sol. Yokem, Koker, McGary, Jacob Yokem, Lee, Graham (a ranger of the war of 1812), a widow and family twenty miles above Batesville, and Major Beal at Batesville. At all these places we were received with unconditional hospitality, and in no instance would these people receive any compensation for

food and shelter furnished us, but dispensed their hospitality in their pure primitive way. From Batesville we made our way, stopping at St. Genevieve, to St. Louis, Mr. Schoolcraft leaving me at St. Genevieve, for Mine-a-Burton, and I made the somewhat weary journey from St. Genevieve to St. Louis in three days, reaching there about the middle of February, 1819. Our friends having heard nothing from us (there being no means of sending word), had become somewhat apprehensive of our safety, and my safe arrival dispelled their fear of our party's destruction by panthers, bears, wolves, or Indians.

BUFFALO HUNT.

They have been "going it" at the east with their hurdle races, and what not; but we have our novelties as well. The latest was a grand buffalo hunt, which came off on Sunday, along Washington Avenue. He lumbered along, with his nose to the ground with any variety of tribes after him, riding and afoot, all up and yelling. There was considerable *shying* at different times among the *hunters*, their steeds not being properly broken to the sport. We don't know whence the buffalo came or whither it went.— *Weekly Reveille, St. Louis, Oct. 28, 1844.*

EDWARD BATES.

CHARLES GIBSON.

States and cities have their distinct characteristics, the same as individuals. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, are as peculiar to each other as any four men can be. These traits remain for centuries. The Puritans of New England and the Cavaliers of Virginia gave to each those distinctive qualities that mark the people of those sections to this day.

Missouri is no exception to the rule. The pioneers gave to Missouri the character that it has always borne and which it will enjoy for the indefinite future. Everything touching the first generation of Americans in this State, becomes of the highest interest and this interest will increase as time runs on. There is a romance about them that does not attach to their successors. Unfortunately but little has been preserved of their lives.

When I first came to Missouri, sixty odd years ago, the lawyers were the ruling class. The leaders of the bar were the acknowledged chiefs of the community. Edward Bates, Gamble, Geyer, and Spalding, stood above all other men in this community; they were quite distinct from the body of the bar, and when they died, there were not and never have been, any lawyers to fill their places. Benton, although a lawyer, never became much identified with the profession. He was elected to the Senate in 1820, and, in point of fact, never afterwards lived in Missouri. Being upon the national forum for thirty consecutive years, he obtained a greater national reputation than the others, but he was not superior to them, nor was he domestic to the State.

Although I was then nothing but a young student of law, I became the special favorite of the four great leaders, Bates, Geyer, Gamble, and Spalding. The intimacy in

each case remained until death. I have always considered it as one of the most pleasing incidents of my life. They were all Whigs, and so was I. I have always considered Bates as the greatest man of the four. The lawyers regarded Geyer as perhaps in the lead as a mere professional man. He succeeded Benton in the Senate, but was too old to maintain his reputation in that body. Gamble, as a civil or land lawyer, was justly rated as the soundest; he is, and will be known in history, as the great war Governor of Missouri, and deserves in the highest degree all the honor that can be paid to his memory.

Spalding was the most learned, and I think the most beloved of any man that was ever at the bar of St. Louis. When he died, in 1852, the bar asked the honor of burying him at its own expense, and the whole bar followed his remains to the cemetery. I remember of no similar mark of respect and affection shown to any member of the profession in St. Louis.

Bates' brother, Frederick, came here as Secretary of the Territory, and afterwards became Recorder of Land Titles, then the most important Federal office in the State; he was elected as the second Governor of the State. Edward Bates was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820. He was repeatedly elected to the legislature, and took a leading part with Geyer in framing the statutory laws that became the foundation of the jurisprudence of this State. More than any other man, he assisted not merely in forming a State technically, but in the establishment of those laws on which our social fabric has reposed, down to the present time. He was elected to Congress for one term, but at the second election he was beaten, and with him the Whig party, which went under to rise no more in Missouri; but for thirty-five years afterwards he devoted most of his time and talents to all public affairs. He rose continually in the estimation and confidence of the community, and finally, although a mere private citizen, established a widespread national reputation.

It was a cardinal principle of the Democratic party in those days, that there was no constitutional power in the Federal government to make any public improvements beyond tide-water. As the West grew up, this doctrine became a subject of discussion and contention. Great "International Improvement" conventions were held from time to time in various Western cities. One of these conventions assembled in Chicago in 1847, and Edward Bates was chosen as its president. The selection of a Western man for such an honor was criticised. In those days we were not even considered in the East as "provinces," but only rude, unlettered denizens of the forest and prairies. Bates, however, got along very well as president; but after the convention had passed the usual vote of thanks and was about to disperse, he rose up to speak for the first time. It was electrical. In an instant the convention was beside itself; all the reporters unconsciously dropped their pens and not a word of the speech was preserved. This is the only instance of the kind I recollect of in this country. The speech had greater effect than Bryan's oration in the same city forty years afterwards. This one speech, like Bryan's, blazoned his name throughout the nation. When Taylor was elected, he had selected Bates as a member of his cabinet, but other counsels prevailed when he reached Washington. When Taylor died, Fillmore nominated Bates as Secretary of War and he was immediately confirmed by the Senate. But to the astonishment of the Eastern people, who in those days deemed such an honor unapproachable by a Western man, he declined. The President then offered him, in writing, any office then in his gift, but still he declined. The office of Secretary of the Interior was then offered to Geyer. I was in Washington at the time and was requested to convey the offer to Mr. Geyer. He also declined. Then the East opened its eyes a little wider as to Western men.

In 1859 I feared a great war was brewing. The Whig party was disrupted and gone, but remnants of it were left,

known as "Old-line Whigs" — men who still fondly clung to the greatest and best of all American parties. Bates was one of the most distinguished leaders of the Whigs. He was not a Republican, but although a slave-holder, he was a "Free Soiler," and was viewed with favor by the more conservative Republicans. I was convinced that his nomination and election by the Republican party, which would be a sure thing if nominated, would avert the war. I had many and long consultations here and in Washington with all three of the Blairs; and with Horace Greeley and lesser lights in various States. It was finally concluded to run him for President. Chicago beat St. Louis in the National Republican Committee for the location of the convention by one vote. Had the convention been held in St. Louis, Lincoln would not have been the nominee. We had nearly all of Indiana and a large portion of the Pennsylvania delegation. Davis, Swett, and others, acting for Mr. Lincoln, bought our votes in those States by agreeing to give Simon Cameron and Caleb B. Smith Cabinet positions. Mr. Lincoln ratified the bargain, and that is the way they became members of Lincoln's Cabinet. The Seward men had a small majority of the convention, but were maneuvered out of it. Thurlow Weed controlled Seward's votes absolutely, and had agreed with me that if Seward was not nominated that morning he would combine on Bates and elect him. But for the votes purchased from Bates, Lincoln could not have been nominated. So near did Bates come to being President, and so near did we come in our profound desire to avoid the war.

After Mr. Lincoln was elected, he sent word by General Blair that he had tendered the first choice of any office he had to give to Mr. Seward, and Mr. Bates should have the second choice. It was no time then to consider personal matters, and as a patriotic duty Mr. Bates selected the Attorney-Generalship. I was present at the interview. It would make this paper altogether too long to attempt to relate the doings of Mr. Bates as Attorney-General. I

will state, however, that he originated the idea of turning Eads' dredge boats into gunboats. He appealed first to Cameron, who would have nothing to do with them. He then persuaded Welles, Secretary of the Navy, that his department covered all the waters of the earth, internal as well as external. Eads was then sent for and the bargain was made. From that came the inland fleet, without which we could never have conquered the South. General Scott, then Commander-in-Chief, was a great admirer of Bates, and through him Bates brought about the armed occupation of Cairo.

In a Cabinet meeting in 1862, he predicted that Richmond would never be taken from the North, and asserted that the only way to capture it was to attack it by one army from the south side and another up the Shenandoah valley. General Halleck, then commander of all the armies, was present at the meeting and criticised the position, so severely, that a quarrel ensued between him and Bates which was never healed. Richmond was finally taken just as Bates advised. While suffering in a long and painful illness, of which he finally died, he wrote a number of State papers on Reconstruction, which are well worthy of being placed among American classics.

I will not attempt to write the life of Edward Bates, that would take a volume, but I feel sure that his is one of the names that Missouri should preserve and cherish as an orator that had but one superior — Henry Clay; as a patriot who devoted fifty years of his life to the public service working as hard out of office as in office; and as a man whose personal character may be justly emulated by the great and the good. He was one of the greatest orators ever produced by Missouri. I had the sole charge of his Presidential campaign, with only one restriction, and that was, that I should make no bargains. At my request he wrote for my information during the campaign in 1860, an epitome of his life up to that time, which I attach hereto and request this Society to preserve among its records.

COLONIAL AND TERRITORIAL DOCUMENTS.

PROCLAMATION![1]

IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC:

LAUSSAT,[2] PROVINCIAL PREFECT.

To the People of Louisiana:

Louisianians: Your separation from France is identified with one of the most disgraceful periods in her annals; under an administration already weak and corrupt — after a dishonorable war, and at the termination of a peace, blighting in its infamy.

Contrasted with this cowardly and unnatural desertion, you exhibited an opposite extreme of heroic patriotism, loyalty and constancy.

The French heart was moved at this spectacle, and has ever kept it in treasured recollection. In a transport of proud exultation, they exclaimed — and it has since been their lofty boast — *that their blood also flowed in your veins.*

No sooner had they retrieved their national honor, and vindicated their ancient glory by the Revolution, and by a series of innumerable triumphs, than they once more turned their eyes upon you. You held the first place in their negotiations. They wished to make your restitution to France the signal triumph of their first treaty of peace.

[1] Translated from the original autograph signed document in the collections of the Society.

[2] Upon the reorganization of the Colony of Louisiana, by the French Government in 1803, Pedro Clement Laussat was appointed Colonial Prefect, whose powers were in general that of administration. He arrived in New Orleans March 26th, 1803, and the next day issued his proclamation. His administration was a short one. On June 6th of the same year, he was delegated commissioner on the port of France to deliver Louisiana to the commissioners to be appointed on behalf of the United States. November 30th, 1803, possession was formally transferred to Laussat by the Spanish Commissioners, Caso Calvo and Salcedo. Laussat on December 20th proclaimed the delivery of the Province to the United States, who was represented by Messrs. Claiborne and Wilkinson.

But the time for this event had not yet come. Its consummation was reserved for a man possessing, in an eminent degree, all the attributes of national spirit, grandeur, magnanimity, and justice; a man uniting in himself the exalted genius of conquest, with the rarer talent of realizing and securing all the substantial fruits of victory; a man who, by the ascendency of his character, should at once strike terror into his foes, and inspire his allies with confidence; who, with penetrating foresight, should discern the real interests of his country, and with inflexible constancy of purpose espouse them; a man, in fine, born to replace France upon her ancient basis, to restore to her the circle of her ancient limits, and to wipe out every foul blot from her annals.

He it is, who now wields the sceptre of our destinies, and from this moment, Louisianians, he becomes the guarantee of yours.

To ensure to yourselves a glorious and happy futurity, you need only to improve on this prolific soil, the profuse blessings of a bounteous nature; such, also, are the views of the French Government.

To maintain relations of peace and amity with your neighbors, to protect commerce, to encourage agriculture, to people your desert wastes, to extend a welcome and fostering hand to labor and industry, to preserve inviolate the rights of property, of custom and opinion, to reverence public worship, to bring virtue into honor, to preserve the dominion of the laws, and in the amendment of them to conform strictly to the suggestions of prudence and experience; to keep up a steady and vigilant police, to introduce lasting order and harmony into every department of public justice; to knit, every day, more closely the ties which a community of origin, of customs, and of opinions have engendered between this colony and the mother country; such, Louisianians, is the honorable mission which your Captain General (the General of Division, Victor), your Provincial Prefect and your Judge delegate, the citizen Ayme, have the happiness to be entrusted with among you. Here the fame of the Captain General has already preceded him. A brother in arms of the First Consul, he attracted his notice by his gallant conduct, at the very outset of the campaign of the famous army of Italy. In times of less propitious fortune, he astounded and put to flight the retreating hosts of Suwarrow; he was, in fine, one of Bonaparte's lieutenants at the battle of Marengo. But in connection with these titles which have rendered his name illustrious, he longs to endear

it to you by the exercise of all the virtues, of all the vigilance and devotion which, so far as superiors are concerned, can conduce to the welfare of a people. His zeal in your behalf, the purity of his intentions, the correctness of his views, the courtesy and the affability of his demeanor and address, enhance the lustre of his valor and martial achievements, and secure him the possession of our love and confidence.

He brings with him a part of those legions, the fame of whose valor and exploits have filled the world, and reached even these far distant shores. Holland, since the return of peace, has viewed with admiration their excellent deportment and admirable discipline, to which you also will pay a befitting tribute.

You will find, blended in your Judge Delegate, the qualities of justice, learning, equity, impartiality, disinterestedness; he comes to you foreknown, and powerfully recommended by the fame of his talents, of his proscription, and of his misfortunes.

You will, then, have every reason to exult in your regeneration as Frenchmen; you will daily appreciate, more and more, the value of this noble title, an object of universal ambition throughout the world.

We are, nevertheless, well aware, Louisianians, and freely admit that, during a period of thirty years, Spain, by the mildness of a sway characterized by a generous reparation of past injuries, has sought to efface from your minds the blood-stained recollection of an agent unworthy of that noble nation.

She is our close and steadfast ally; it is not for us to claim of you an ungrateful return of her favors.

We will strive in our endeavors at usefulness to emulate the example of the illustrious chiefs whom she placed at your head.

Devotion on your part to the French Republic, our common country — gratitude to the authors of your restoration, whose envoys we are, the daily spectacle of your growing prosperity will be to us a reward which we covet, and which we claim as the only recompense for the zeal and the cares which are bounded solely by the extent of our duties and wishes.

At New Orleans, this sixth Germinal, in the eleventh year of the French Republic.[3] LAUSSET.

By the Colonial Prefect, Ministerial Officer, acting as Secretary, DAUGEROT.

[3] March 27, 1803.

NECROLOGY — 1898–1899.

[1] Broadhead, James O., 1878.[2] Born at Charlottesville, Va., May 29, 1819.
Died at St. Louis, August 7, 1898.

[1] Bush, Isidor, 1880. Born in Prague, Austria, January 15, 1822.
Died at St. Louis, August 5, 1898.

Barney, Charles E., 1898. Born at Waterville, Me., May 25, 1834.
Died at St. Louis, July 11, 1898.

[1] Clark, Henry L., 1866. Born at Wexford, Ireland, June 18, 1813.
Died at St. Louis, December 3, 1898.

Brown, Joseph, 1896. Born at Jedbury, Scotland, April 3, 1823.
Died at St. Louis, December 3, 1899.

Greely, Carlos S., 1895. Born at Salisbury, N. H., July 13, 1811.
Died at St. Louis, April 14, 1898.

Gruner, Philip, 1896. Born in Alsace, France, February 14, 1832.
Died at St. Louis, September 9, 1898.

[1] Gibson, Charles, 1867. Born at Christiansburg, Va., February 16, 1825.
Died at Lake Minnetonka, Minn., October 27, 1899.

[1] Hart, Oliver A., 1886. Born at Norwich, Conn., February 13, 1814.
Died at St. Louis, November 19, 1898.

[1] Hyde, William, 1886. Born in Lima, Ohio, August 27, 1836.
Died at St. Louis, October 30, 1898.

Huettler, Rev. August J., 1898. Born at Colmar, Alsace, France, February 17, 1856.
Died at St. Louis, April 27, 1899.

[1] Life Members. [2] Membership Acquired.

Lee, Arthur, 1894. Born at Fort Monroe, Va., June 1, 1847.
Died at St. Louis, April 12, 1899.

Lockwood, Ellen Dean, 1895. Born in Viray, Indiana, February 8, 1855.
Died at St. Louis, December 17, 1898.

Mudd, Henry H., 1894. Born at Pittsfield, Ill., April 27, 1844.
Died at St. Louis, November 20, 1899.

Moll, Adolph, 1894. Born in Frankenstein, Prussia, in 1834.
Died at St. Louis, June 22, 1898.

Orthwein, Charles F., 1894. Born in Wuerttenburg, Germany, January 28, 1839.
Died at St. Louis, December 28, 1898.

Parker, George W., 1894. Born at Galena, Ill., January 27, 1831.
Died at St. Louis, March 29, 1899.

Richardson, J. Clifford, 1897. Born at Pittsburg, Pa., April 15, 1849.
Died at Pasedena, Cal., March 31, 1899.

Turner, John W., 1894. Born near Saratoga, N. Y., July 19, 1833.
Died at St. Louis, April 8, 1899.

Taussig, Charles S., 1894. Born at St. Louis, August 24, 1857.
Died at St. Louis, January 2, 1899.

NEW MEMBERS.

(Number previously reported, 347.)

Chittenden, Capt. Hiram M., Sioux City, Ia.
Muench, Julius T., St. Louis.
Warner, W. F., St. Louis.
Worthen, George, Jr., St. Louis.

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2. Recollections of a Septuagenarian; by William Waldo..... 1880
3. Archaeological Explorations in Cole County, Mo.; by Dr. N. DeWyl..... 1880
Prehistoric Remains in Missouri; Prof. G. C. Broadhead..... 1880
4. Charter and By-Laws..... 1880
5. Samuel Gaty, of St. Louis; by John F. Darby and Albert Todd..... 1881
6. Archaeology of Missouri; by F. F. Hilder.....
7. President's Annual Address; by Col. George E. Leighton..... 1883
8. Historical Societies in their relation to Local Historical Interest; by Rt. Rev. C. F. Robertson..... 1883
9. The American Revolution and the Acquisition of the Valley of the Mississippi; by Rt. Rev. C. F. Robertson..... 1884
10. The Attempts to Separate the West from the American Union; by Rt. Rev. C. F. Robertson..... 1885
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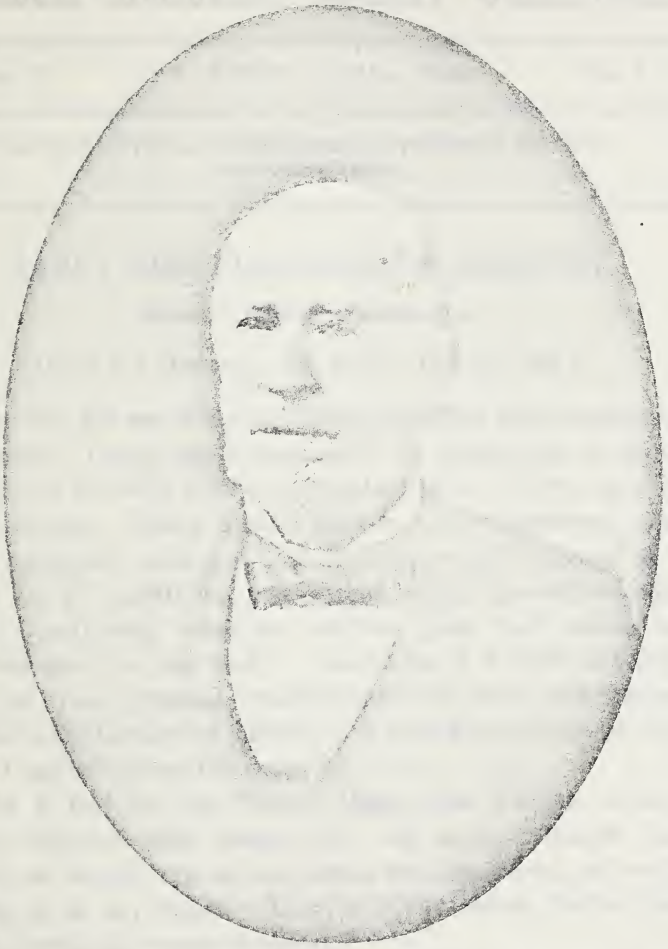
12. Newspapers and Newspaper People of Three Decades; by William Hyde..... 1896
Territorial Revenue System of Missouri; by Prof. Frederick C. Hicks.....
Members and Contributors.....
13. The Louisiana Purchase; Extent of Territory Acquired by said Purchase; by Col. James O. Broadhead..... 1897
Members and Contributors.....
14. The Beginnings of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the Archdiocese of St. Louis, 1764–1776; by Rev. J. J. Conway, S. J..... 1897
15. Historical Loan Exhibition Report..... 1899
Constitution and By-Laws.....
Members and Contributors.....



HON. THOMAS SHACKELFORD.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

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THE SOCIETY DISCLAIMS RESPONSIBILITY FOR VIEWS EXPRESSED BY CONTRIBUTORS.

EARLY RECOLLECTIONS OF MISSOURI.

BY HON. THOMAS SHACKELFORD.

(Read at a Meeting of the Society, 11 April, 1901.)

You ask for my early recollections of the past history of Missouri. I am not accustomed to dictate to a typewriter, so you will have to be content with my own proper handwriting. When a man gets to the reminiscent age, it is generally conceded that he is growing old, and if I were an old *politician*, you might apply the old saying: "Old politicians cherish wisdom past, and totter on in blunders to the last." And now if I shall attempt to give you personal reminiscences of men and things in the early history of Missouri, it would be *self-convicting* that I am indeed an old man.

Yet I feel as did Victor Hugo, the French writer, when charged with being old. He said: "Indeed the frosts of winter are on my head, but the bloom of early spring is in my heart. That it is the oldest violin that sends forth the sweetest music."

First, as to my opportunities for seeing and knowing the things whereof I write. My father, for whom I am named, was born in the little town of Dumfries in Virginia, on June 1, 1776, just one month and four days before the birth of our republic. In his early manhood he removed to Kentucky, and was a partner of Governor Metcalfe before his elevation

to the chief magistracy of Kentucky, in the stonemason's business. From Kentucky he removed to Nashville, Tenn., where he married my mother, a descendant of Major John Cockrill, one of the founders of Nashville. He there became intimate with Col. Thomas H. Benton and Gen. Andrew Jackson, and during this intimacy, became interested in the politics of the day. He removed to Missouri in the year 1820, just prior to the admission of Missouri as a State. In the organization of Saline County, where he settled, he was appointed one of the first judges of the County Court by Governor McNair. He took great interest in politics, but joined with Clay in the division of the party, and became a Whig. Duff Green, who had become prominent in Missouri as an opponent of Gen. Jackson, removed to Washington city and published the *Telegraph*, an opposition paper. About the same time several prominent men came to Missouri, and settled in Saline County, among them Dr. John Sappington, Gen. Thomas Smith and his brother, John Smith T.

This last was a remarkable man, and he was ready to fight a duel on the least provocation. In order to distinguish his name from other John Smiths, he first wrote it John Smith of Tennessee, and afterwards, John Smith T. Meredith M. Marmaduke, the son-in-law of Dr. Sappington, came about the same time. He was Lieut.-Governor, with Thomas Reynolds as Governor. When Gov. Reynolds committed suicide, Col. Marmaduke became Governor. He was the father of John S. Marmaduke, who was afterwards Governor of the State.

Claiborne F. Jackson came to Missouri soon afterwards, and married a daughter of Dr. Sappington. There is quite a romance connected with the relation of Jackson to the family of Dr. Sappington. A man from Georgia, who assumed the name of Pearson, came to Missouri about this time, married the daughter of Dr. Sappington (the oldest). He went into the mercantile business in old Chariton, was prosperous and had several children. One day a man by the name of Denison, of Saline County, was in the store,

and heard him mention some incident that had taken place in Georgia. He took Pearson aside and charged him with being the man whose name was *Parsons*, who had abanboned a wife in Georgia. Pearson confessed, and my father, as a friend of Dr. Sappington, went with the old Doctor and confronted Pearson, who immediately left the State and was gone several years, and returned bringing with him a decree of divorce from his first wife. He remarried the wife whom he had wronged, but public opinion was so great against him that he soon left the State, and died soon after in Texas, — the place of refuge then of many adventurers from the States.

The first wife of Claiborne Jackson died. He married a second daughter of Dr. Sappington, who was accidentally killed in a runaway accident; he then married the oldest daughter of the widow Pearson. It was at this wedding that the gruff old Dr. Sappington said to Jackson, "Well, Claib, I reckon you will take the old woman next."

The children of Mrs. Pearson, who were prominent and worthy citizens, procured an act of the Legislature, legalizing their name as Pearson. Dr. Sappington became prominent as the maker of Sappington's Anti-Fever Pills. He and most of his children became wealthy. The success of his pills in the cure of fever and ague was attributable to the use of quinine as the base of the product. About this time the Christian world was startled with the publications of Voltaire, and Paine's "Age of Reason," and these men in Saline County often got together to discuss the problems of life as indicated by these infidel writers. I have often heard them in animated discussion as they read and commented on the wonderful productions. My mother never permitted me to read these works, and after my father's death destroyed them. With all these prominent men imbued with this spirit of infidelity, it is not strange that they should leave their opinion impressed upon the rising generation.

As I now look back on the early days of my boyhood, I can remember with what interest I listened to the stories

of the early pioneers of Missouri. I remember how often I have seen these old men sitting on the porch, of a quiet summer evening, leaning on their staffs. They would have the appearance of looking far away to the beautiful scenery around them; but no, their spiritual eyes were turned inward, contemplating the past of their active lives, and if I wished to be interested, it needed only a touch to the chord that reverberated from the past to see the fire kindle in their eyes, as they related the experiences of early manhood. It may be that sometimes they were garrulous, but still, the pleasure it gave them to dwell on the past compensated many a young man, conscious of giving pleasure as a listener.

I doubt whether the people of this utilitarian age will take much interest in reminiscences of men and things in the early history of Missouri, but perchance in after years the musty record may be read with interest. And now, if some of these reminiscences are so far personal as to subject me to the imputation of vanity, yet the incidents may illustrate a history of the times.

The present generation can hardly realize the trials and hardships the early pioneers had to undergo in bringing Missouri up to its present stand among its sister States. If I should state that all the lumber to build their houses had to be sawed by hand, that pioneers dared not attempt to live in or cultivate the rich prairies, it would be hard to believe; but when I tell them that during the summer months all travel had to be by night, and the prairie fields plowed by night on account of the green head-fly that attacked the animals, these men will wonder how the pioneers lived at all. Wood was so scarce that men used brush fences and stables thatched with corn fodder. But kindly feeling predominated, and many a contest was had when all the neighbors came together in a husking contest; and while the young men and old men were vieing in their contest with loud singing, the women and young girls were sewing on quilts

in the house, and at night the young men and maidens wound up in a dance.

Strangers were entertained gladly, without charge. I well remember that Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, with Sydney Rigdon, came afoot to my mother's house, and remained over night, gave my mother a Mormon bible, and I listened as the prophet told her of his interview with the angel who revealed to him the mysteries of the Book of Mormon.

My interest in men and things increased, as, when the county was organized, old Jefferson on the Missouri River was chosen the county seat. The court was held in a one-roomed cabin, and the juries in the summer held their consultations in the shade of the trees. Judge David Todd, of Columbia, Boone County, was judge, and his circuit extended to the State line west. The lawyers and the judge frequently came to remain all night at my father's house. There often came Peyton R. Hayden, John B. Clark, Abiel Leonard, Hamilton R. Gamble, John F. Ryland, and Charles French and others. I listened to these men with wonder. Judge Todd and Gamble were the only professors of religion. All these men were Whigs. Col. Thomas H. Benton had assumed prominence as a leader of the Jacksonian Democracy, party lines were distinctly drawn, and the Democracy was in the ascendant, and as most of the judges of the State were Whigs, a constitutional amendment was adopted legislating them out of office, and the appointment of Democrats to fill their places.

The Sappington family were Democrats, and the sharp contest between Darwin Sappington as Democrat and George C. Bingham as Whig, ended by the election of Bingham by one vote. Sappington contested and he was given the place by the dominant party. Bingham was an artist, and immortalized this election by a painting called the "County Election." Elections were then held *viva voce*, and any man from any other township in the county could vote, but he had to swear that he had not and would

not vote in any other precinct during the present election. The man administering this oath in the picture is the likeness of Col. M. M. Marmaduke, brother-in-law of Darwin Sappington, who stands to the left and has his hat off bowing to the voter who is casting his vote for him. The man with the stoop shoulders is O. B. Pearson, trying to convince the voter to vote for his friend Sappington. The man with his head tied up was a well-known character of whom alcohol had gotten the better. The others are well-known characters of that day. Young America is playing "Mumble the Peg." In these early contests men of different parties went around and addressed the crowd alternately.

A ludicrous event happened in one of these contests. Thomas Reynolds, afterwards Governor, had addressed the crowd at Old Chariton, his competitor had taken a little too much stimulant, and when he attempted to mount the goods box from which Reynolds spoke, failed to get up. But he was equal to the occasion, and turned around and said, "I disdain to stand above my constituents," and so made a telling speech from the ground.

During the time when we voted *viva voce*, an amusing occurrence happened in a contest, in Howard County, for the office of Justice of the Peace. The Whig, John Harvey, at the close of the polls had voted for his opponent and made a tie. His opponent, Snyder, went up to vote and discovered that if he voted for his opponent, it would elect him. He stood for several moments contemplating the situation, then his covetousness got the better of his judgment, and he slowly said, "I believe I will give Snyder a pop," and thus he elected himself. It is needless to say that this was the last time he was ever elected.

These early pioneers had a strong sense of justice. An incident in point: We had a limitation law, which barred all accounts in two years. I was a young man just beginning to practice: a client came to me with an account for flour sold over two years preceding. I said to him: "It is barred by law." "I know it," said he, "but I want him

to plead the act if he dares." I brought the suit, the trial came on. The defendant said: "Squire, I plead limitation on this account." The Squire said: "Before you do this, let me ask you some questions. Did you buy this flour?" "Yes." "Did you eat it in your family?" "Yes." "Did you ever pay for it?" "No." "Then you can't plead limitation in my court. I give judgment against you." The defendant paid the debt. Another incident: A purchaser of tobacco had made a purchase of a farmer by verbal contract. Tobacco raised in price, and, his covetousness getting the better of him, he refused to deliver. The purchaser asked me to sue him. I told him he could not recover if the man plead the statute of frauds. "He dare not do it and put it on record. I will give you five dollars to bring the suit." I did so, the writ was served; the next day the purchaser came into my office with a five dollar bill in his hand. "Here, S.," he said, "we shot at the bush and got the game. A. has delivered his tobacco."

The contest between the parties waxed warm, and I will now give a history of the duel that was fought between Gen. John B. Clark and Claiborne F. Jackson. Clark was a candidate for Governor and Owen Rollins was the Democratic candidate against James H. Burch, the Whig candidate. At a great debate between Rawlings and Birch, Birch left on the rostrum a private letter written to him by Clark. In this letter Clark had accused Jackson of being a rascal, but had spelled *raskal* with a *k*. Jackson got hold of the letter and published it, and ridiculed the idea of spelling rascal with a *k*. Clark challenged Jackson, and Jackson accepted the challenge, and chose rifles as the weapons, to be fought at a distance of sixty yards, in the vicinity of Fayette. The second of Clark would not let Clark fight on these terms, on account of the heavy penalty against duelists and seconds. Clark posted Jackson as a coward, and that was the end of it. The history of the duel between Abiel Leonard and Taylor Berry is too well known to demand repetition.

These recollections will not be complete without a recurrence to the subject of African slavery, and some of the secret history concerning the same in Missouri. It is well known that Missouri entered the Union amid a great contest, and was only admitted on a compromise. Many prominent men of both parties desired to see Missouri a free State, but such was the bitter feeling engendered, that conservative men dared not discuss the matter. Hence the discussion was carried on in secret, and on this subject there was a complete bondage of the mind, and the doctrine of Jefferson that "error ceases to be dangerous when reason is left free to combat it," had no place here. There is a dark side to this picture that I could wish never brought to light, but from the fact that the women of the South seek to perpetuate the remembrance of this dire evil, under organizations called the Daughters of the Confederacy. If I now shall give you a short history of one of these daughters of the South, I hope in after years when the descendants of these Daughters of the Confederacy shall read these lines, they will draw the veil over the dark picture never to be remembered. I trust I will be pardoned when I say that this daughter of the South was my mother.

Let me first give the history of one incident in her life. I will premise by saying that she was a descendant of the old Huguenots, who had fled from the oppression of European monarchists. This is the incident: My father had died when I was about fourteen years of age. My mother was left a widow and had the charge and management of many slaves. We had a law in our statutes that a slave should be punished with 40 lashes save one, who insulted a white man. One day the constable came to arrest a slave for insulting a white man. My mother told me to go to the trial. The evidence was that when the white man was trading with the slave, an altercation took place, and the white man cursed the slave, and the slave cursed the white man in return. A great crowd was present. The magistrate heard the evidence and condemned the slave to be

lashed. He then took me aside and said: "Your slave is not guilty, but to satisfy this crowd of angry men, I had to pass this sentence." I was indignant. "What," said I, "whip an innocent man?" "Yes," said the magistrate. While he was talking the constable came and asked if he was to be whipped publicly. "No," said the magistrate, "take him to the smoke house." The slave was stripped and taken into the house, and the crowd counted the lashes. When the officer came out he said to the negro, "You must not tell what occurred." "No," said the negro, "I will not." Then said the officer to me: "You must not tell. I only lashed a post." I said I would only tell my mother. When I came home I then asked my mother what it meant that the innocent negro was to be whipped. She said to me: "Ah, my son, I cannot well explain these things to you, but before this evil of slavery is righted, this land will be deluged in blood." She then called my attention to the fact that sons in good families as well as husbands, were having children by the slave women, that this social evil was bad enough among free parties, but among bond women was *terrible*. My mother died before the cloud burst, but her precepts were so indelibly impressed on my young mind that when the secession of the States began, I looked anxiously in fear of the fulfillment of her prophecy. How I tried to avert the calamity will appear further on in this paper. I cannot forbear in this connection quoting from the speech of George W. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, made in the Senate of the United States in 1832. Speaking of slavery he says: "Nor is it possible to be wholly blind to the moral effect of this species of labor upon these freemen among whom it exists. The high and lofty qualities which in other scenes and for other purposes characterize and adorn our Southern brethren, are fatal to the enduring patience, the corporal exertion and the painstaking simplicity by which, only, a successful yeomanry can be formed."

In the early days our State had a trade with New Mexico and our principal circulating medium was the Mexican dol-

lar and half dollar. We had no small change, and to supply the deficiency took a half dollar and divided it into four parts, and each triangular part was called a bit. You may hear old persons now, call for a bit, two bits, etc.; few persons know the origin of the term.

I was indebted to my mother for my failure to enter political life. When I was a little boy she made me promise never to enter a saloon. When the contest was close, in Howard County, a man from the remote part of the county was delegated to solicit me to run for the Legislature; I told him I would first let him solve several questions I would put to him. I said to him: "If I were a candidate and would not enter a saloon, could I be elected!" He said: "You need not drink, but you could enter and treat." I said, "No, I can't enter a saloon." He studied a moment and then said: "You'd better not run."

When Lincoln was elected President in 1860, and several States had seceded, the Legislature having issued a call for a Convention to take the State out of the Union, I was a candidate on the Union ticket with Judge William A. Hall and Gen. Sterling Price, in the senatorial district composed of Howard, Chariton and Randolph Counties. I made a canvass with Gen. Price, who was a genial, whole-souled man. He had been Governor of Missouri, and while we were canvassing, he told me an incident which occurred while he was Governor. I tell it now for the benefit of the many aspirants for office. He told me that a prominent politician in Southwest Missouri, whose name I will not mention, told him that he was overrun for recommendations for office, and he wanted to tell the Governor that he was going to write a recommendation for everyone who applied: that the recommendation would in every case be in favor of the applicant, but if a certain word which he named was in the recommendation, the Governor was to understand that the applicant was not worth a *curse*. Many a disappointed applicant went away in sorrow on account of the fatal word, satisfied, however, that his friend the politician had done him an especial favor.

It is but just to the memory of this great man to state that during the canvass he took the position that secession was not a right under the Constitution, but only the right of revolution existed when oppression became intolerable.

Contrary to the expectation of the Governor, Claiborne F. Jackson and the secession Legislature, a majority of the conservatives were against secession as a remedy for evils suggested. Gen. Price was elected president of the Convention, and the committee on resolutions, of which Hamilton R. Gamble was chairman, made a report declaring against secession. I, as a Southern born citizen, believed that war could be averted, if the people of the South had opportunity to give free expression of opinion. Hence I offered an amendment to the original resolution, asking the Federal Government to withdraw the troops from the Southern States until the people had an opportunity to speak. This was adopted, but, alas, was unheeded, and the fall of Ft. Sumpter was made the occasion to enter into the great conflict.

The Convention having no sufficient room provided in Jefferson City, adjourned to meet in St. Louis. I now wish to mention an incident not heretofore published, in relation to the action of Gen. Price. After the passage of the original resolution, a member introduced a resolution to the effect that if all of the other border States, meaning Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland, seceded from the Union, then Missouri would take her position with her sister Southern States. Judge Wm. A. Hall and myself voted *no* to this resolution, and Gen. Price, who voted last, voted *yea*. That evening, after the adjournment of the Convention, he took me by the arm and led me to the extreme south end of the hall in the Planters' House, and said to me: "You were surprised at my vote to-day." I told him I was. He said to me: "It is now inevitable that the general government will attempt the coercion of the Southern States. War will ensue. I am a military man, a Southern man, and, if we have to fight, will do so on the

part of the South." His subsequent acts are matters of history.

I must here mention the treatment to which I was subjected, by reason of my vote on the above resolution. On my return home from the convention to Howard County, I found printed placards, calling a meeting of the people at Fayette, to condemn Judge Hall and myself for our vote on this resolution. I attended the meeting, and asked to be heard, but was denied with hisses and shoutings. I asked the privilege of speaking on the steps of the yard to all who wished to hear me; this was denied. Just at this juncture a man with whom I was intimate, whom I knew to be raising a company to go South, came with a number of armed men, took position by my side, and said that I should have the privilege of speaking. I did so, and appealed to the Missourians present, and said: "This resolution does not propose that Missouri shall go out of the Union on principle, but will *abjectly* follow the other border States." Now, I asked, "Is there a Missourian present who would desire me to vote for such a cowardly resolution?" The brave Missourians present gave me a rousing cheer, and voted to *approve my vote.*

History records how rapidly events were passing. The Governor and the Legislature had fled the State, and anarchy was prevailing all over the land. I was called to St. Louis to meet other parties in regard to the situation. In an upper room of the Planters' House, N. Paschal, editor of the *Missouri Republican*, had a conference (at which I was present), to determine what was best to do under the circumstances, to prevent anarchy. Mr. Paschal said he had come to the conclusion that it was best to depose the present Governor and elect a Provisional Governor. He said that in the next issue of the *Republican* he would advise this. This was done, and in accordance with the advice, the Convention was called together and Hamilton R. Gamble elected Provisional Governor. His administration is a matter of history.

The calling of a new convention, and the adoption of

the proscriptive Drake Constitution followed. The Whig party was dissolved, and the contest against the radical branch of the Republican was successfully waged by a union of the Democrats and Liberal Republicans. I was one of a committee on the part of the Democrats, which perfected the union which resulted in the election of B. Gratz Brown as Governor.

I cannot close these reflections without calling attention to the influence of the Church of Christ, in moulding the character of the early pioneers of Missouri. The Baptist denomination was the first, then the Cumberland Presbyterian, and then the Methodist. I have intimated heretofore what a strong influence the writings of Voltaire and Thomas Paine had upon the first residents of Missouri. It was a great conflict. A. P. Williams of the Baptist Church, was a man of giant intellect, and I witnessed in an early day a great debate between him and Jesse Green, a great Methodist who had come to Missouri after the failure of Sevier to establish the State of Franklin west of the Allegheny Mountains, — then a part of North Carolina, now Tennessee.

I want to mention an incident connected with the indictment of A. P. Williams for preaching without taking the oath of allegiance under the Drake Constitution. I mention it to show how much influence men of my profession exerted in behalf of civil liberty. When Williams was indicted, Horace B. Johnson was circuit attorney. He wrote the indictments at the behest of a radical grand jury (let me premise that none but radicals could sit on a jury), and when the case was called for trial, Johnson came to me and said: "I don't mean to prosecute a man like A. P. Williams for preaching. You get your client to come in and give bond and the case will be postponed until the excitement is over." It is needless to say that the Rev. A. P. Williams was never tried under that indictment. The Methodist denomination, by reason of their self-sacrificing ministers in the traveling connection, exerted a great influence on society. Willis A. Dockery, the father of

A. M. Dockery, the Governor-elect, was one of these pioneer ministers. I remember once, in attending conference, sitting on the seat beside the mother of our Governor-elect, and that as we sped in the cars through the prairies, this mother said to me: "Oh, Brother Shackleford, you don't know what a trial it is to be moving so often; to have no home. I sometimes feel that I can hate the yellow flowers of the prairie which are always in bloom when moving time comes." Ah, that noble mother little thought that while she had no "cottage in the wilderness," she was training a boy to be the *future Governor of the great State of Missouri.*

The writer was born in Saline County, February 6, 1822, resided in Saline County until 1840, studied law under the direction of Judge Abiel Leonard, was licensed to practice law by Judge John D. Leland in 1842, located then at Glasgow, Howard County, was a member of the Convention of 1860–1861, and was a member of the Convention of 1875 that formed the present constitution.

Addendum, containing short sketches of individuals, and incidents in the early history of Central Missouri, not mentioned in the general reminiscences.

COL. BENJAMIN CHAMBERS.

Col. Chambers was a Revolutionary soldier, and removed from Cincinnati about the time of the organization of Saline County. He was the first clerk of the County and Circuit Courts, and was a strict old-school Presbyterian, a man of positive character. His sword is now in possession of his daughter, Mrs. Catherine Pulliam, an aged widow residing in Marshall. Dr. George Penn, who was formerly sub-treasurer at St. Louis, and who died several years ago in St. Louis County, married his oldest daughter. She was one of the most beautiful women I ever saw.

While the court was being held at old Jefferson in a one-

roomed cabin, an original genius, named William Job, was sheriff, and lived on a parcel of land as a squatter. He was called Bill Job, and was hardly able to write intelligibly, but was a man of great humor. He had handed the panel of the grand jury to Col. Chambers, who was at his desk, and Job stood in the door to call the jurors as indicated by the Colonel. The Judge was on the box, elevated a little, the lawyers sitting around; Chambers could not make out the full names of the jurors. He called to Job, "Jacob — *who is this?*" Job called out from the door three times, "Jacob Who-is-this." Col. Chambers, much irritated at the burst of laughter from the lawyers, then said angrily, "*Now you have done it.*" Job immediately caused increased merriment by exclaiming three times, "Now-you-have-done-it." Job was a very poor man, and as a boy I often heard the expression, "As poor as Job's turkey," which I thought was in reference to Bill Job's turkey, and, as I have never heard that the original Job of the Bible had a turkey, the expression must have originated from old Bill Job, sheriff of Saline County. When a boy, I was riding with Col. Chambers. I had placed the ball of my foot in the stirrup when the Colonel said to me: "Young man, don't ride in that way." I said: "But, Colonel, I might get thrown and would not like to have my feet hang in the stirrup." "Young man, when you mount a horse, you must not expect to be *thrown*. Ride with the middle of the foot in the stirrup, and sit upright. I have often in my experience in life, found that when a man expects to fail in life's battle, he *generally fails*."

While Dr. Penn was going to see his daughter, and the court was then held at Jonesburg, Col. Chambers and Dr. Penn were riding on the prairie a long distance from any house. A sudden shower came up, which promised to be of short duration. The Colonel, to the astonishment of Dr. Penn, it being a sultry hot day, deliberately got off his horse, took off his saddle, and then took off all his own clothes, put them all under the saddle, covered the whole

with the blanket, and stood in the shower without his clothing until the shower had passed; then he dressed and rode comfortably home, while Dr. Penn had to go to the house of his sweetheart perfectly saturated with water.

Such were some of the characteristics of this old soldier, who lived to be over 80 years of age. During the term of his service as clerk, my grandfather, Drury Pulliam, was sheriff, and his son, John C. Pulliam, who afterwards married a daughter of Col. Chambers, carried the whole of the State revenue, in silver, for one year, to Jefferson City in a pair of saddlebags.

JAMES EARICKSON AND HIS FAMILY.

Among the sterling characters of the early history of Missouri, James Earickson was a prominent figure. He was at an early day the treasurer of the State. The revenue was all collected in Mexican silver dollars. It is said of him that he kept a very simple account, and when a committee of the Legislature came to examine his accounts he produced two barrels, and said to the committee: "In one barrel are the vouchers, and in the other barrel is the money; they are bound to balance, for every cent I have received I have kept in this barrel, and when a voucher is presented, I pay the money and put the voucher in this barrel. Count it; all is here." It is needless to say that the committee found it all right.

His only daughter married Talton Turner, a prominent man, who, as deputy United States surveyor, made all the surveys in Central Missouri. The late John D. Perry, of St. Louis, married his oldest daughter, who now resides in St. Louis, and is the mother-in-law of ex-Gov. Francis. Robert Estill, a prominent farmer of Howard County, married another. Benjamin W. Lewis' third wife was a daughter of Talton Turner. His widow lives in St. Louis. William J. Lewis, once the president of the Merchants' Exchange, was also a son-in-law; his widow is still living.

When Benjamin W. Lewis removed from Virginia to Missouri, he had but little of this world's goods, but by

indomitable industry and careful management, he died wealthy. There came with him from Virginia a poor man by the name of Tom Childers, who ever remained poor. He used to say that he and Ben Lewis came to Missouri each poor, that Lewis had gotten rich, but that "he was still holding his own." Childers was an odd character, — he never rode a horse, but went afoot, walking with a cane. He was toiling up a hill one day, and at the top of it met a mover's wagon. The mover said to him: "My friend, is it necessary to lock going down that hill?" Childers replied that he did not know, that he had come up the hill without locking.

Among the first fees I ever got was in suing a man for killing his dog. I recovered five dollars.

Talton Turner has two sons, John H. Turner, Jr., and William Turner, still living in the county, honorable and upright citizens. He had a brother, John H. Turner, who was his assistant on his large landed estate. This man was a prominent Mason, and a man of great humor. Riding in the north of Chariton County in the prairie, miles from any house, with a cold, drizzling rain falling, he saw a man riding rapidly toward him, in the chilling rain, and called to him to halt. "My friend," said he, "would you not like to have a good drink of whisky." The man's countenance lighted up. "The best in the world," said he. "So would I," said Turner, as he spurred his horse onward. As far as he could hear he listened to the curses of the disappointed rider.

Judge James Earickson left one son, Richard Earickson, who was a prominent farmer, and left a large estate to his wife, nieces and nephews. In the latter years of his life he became a prominent member of the M. E. Church, South, and in his experience of his conversion, I remember his odd expression that he had been "living on short grass all his life." A homely illustration, but it illustrates.

JOHN HARRISON.

This pioneer was from Kentucky, was emphatically a self-made man, and by his unflagging energy accumulated a large fortune. Missouri at this early day was a great hemp-growing State where the land was suitable. The subject of this sketch was a large hemp grower in Howard County. In order to develop the hemp trade he invented a machine to manufacture and put up superior hemp bales. This was a great industry, for the reason that hemp twine was used in the baling of cotton, and hemp bags were made of it.

There hangs in my room a certificate issued to him by the Massachusetts Mechanical Association in 1847, for superior hemp bales, which was given him with a silver cup. A few years afterward, the Czar of Russia sent an agent to see Mr. Harrison and learn something of his plan of putting up hemp. Unfortunately his machine had burned down a few years previously. Mr. Harrison had a number of slaves. He was a kind master, but to illustrate the fact that the spirit of liberty is inherent in the human heart, I was at his home (he was the father of my wife), in the early 50s, when a poor wayfaring man and his wife called to stay all night. He was a sorry specimen of humanity, traveling with a poor horse hitched to a rickety old chaise. In the morning one of the slaves was directed to get the poor man's horse, which he hitched up. The slave was named Smith, and as he passed his mistress she said to him: "Smith, how would you like to be like that man? Aren't you better off?" "Ah, Missus," he replied, "he has nobody to hinder him." This poor slave, although well-treated and well-fed, yet longed to be situated where no one hindered him.

Slavery had many dark phases, but it was always a pleasure to consider the only bright side, where there was such a mutual attachment between master and slave, as in the case of this man. Let me illustrate by two incidents. He had a slave named Brown who was a

member of the same church, and attended the same class meetings, of which I was leader. Brown had a wife who belonged to a neighbor, who had failed, and the wife of Brown and all her children were about to be sold to a negro trader. Her master was a kind man and had permitted his slave to hire her own time. The law did not permit the slaves to be emancipated and live in the State. Brown came to me and said he was about to be separated from his wife and children. He said his wife had money enough to pay for herself and children. I told him to send her to me. She came with silver to the amount of $1,000 in her handkerchief. I took the money, purchased her, and had the bill of sale made to me. I indorsed the fact on the bill of sale, and kept it among secret papers. Publicly she was recognized as my property, but kept, as before, her own earnings. When it was apparent that the Federal troops were going to occupy Missouri, many persons sent their slaves South in the vain hope of saving them. Mr. Harrison made preparations to send his South, prepared his tents for the journey. Brown came to me to intercede against being sent away. I told him to go to his master and say to him that he and his associates would be faithful until legally set free. I came upon them just as they were having the interview, and found both in tears. It is needless to say that the tents were folded up and stored in the garret. All save one remained faithful, and Mr. Harrison provided homes for all. Such incidents were common, but Northern men read only of the dark side of the picture. You would hardly believe it when I tell you I never read "Uncle Tom's Cabin." I was satisfied the picture was overdrawn.

Mr. Harrison had a brother who removed to St. Louis and became largely interested in the iron business, and James Harrison is well known among the old citizens of St. Louis. Two other brothers removed to Texas, and Senator Culberson, of that State, is the son-in-law of one of these brothers.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM D. SWINNEY.

This man was prominent as a tobacco buyer, and emigrated to Missouri from Virginia at an early day. When he first came to Missouri he did not like the prospect, and yearned to go back to the barren hills of old Virginia, and immediately returned; but strange to say, returned again to Missouri. He was a man of great energy of character and a prominent member of the M. E. Church.

JAMES GLASGOW AND SON, W. J. GLASGOW, JR.

James Glasgow emigrated with his son from St. Louis at a very early day, engaged in the mercantile business at Old Chariton, at the mouth of the Chariton River. This was a thriving village, and it is said that an old man exchanged a lot on First Street in St. Louis for a lot in Old Chariton. These men returned to St. Louis. The city of Glasgow, which was laid out in Howard County when Old Chariton became so unhealthy that it was dangerous to live there, was named after James Glasgow, and not, as some suppose, for Glasgow, Scotland.

Glasgow, Mo., Dec. 25, 1900.

NOTICE.

My creditors will take notice that having been discharged from imprisonment and exempted from arrest until the end of the next January term of the Circuit Court, by the order of the Hon. David Todd, Judge of said Court, I shall on Thursday the fourth day of said term, make application to said Circuit Court for a final discharge, pursuant to the provisions of a law of the State of Missouri for the relief of insolvent debtors.

DANIEL RECTOR.

October 22, 1822. 12–4w*

(*Missouri Intelligencer*, Nov. 6, 1822.)

LETTER OF GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE F. JACKSON.

(Copy of Manuscript No. 229, Missouri Historical Society.)

JEFFERSON CITY, April 28, 1861.

J. W. Tucker, Esq.:

MY DEAR SIR — I write this note in confidence and under a state of mind very peculiar. I know not when I have been so deeply mortified as on yesterday when I read the leading editorial of the *Republican*. Gov. Price called on me a few days since, when passing on his way to St. Louis. We had an interview of ten minutes, not more. It was strictly private and confidential. Neither was at liberty to repeat what the other said, much less was either licensed to mistake and misrepresent the position of the other. Gov. Price asked me what I thought as to the *time* of calling the convention. I told him not to be in a hurry but to wait 'til the legislature met, and to be here at that time, so that we could consult with the members from all parts of the State, and fix upon a proper time. That in my judgment we should not go out of the Union until the Legislature had time to arm the State, to some extent and place it in a proper position of defence. This was in substance, *the sum total* of all I said to him. Gov. Price said many things to me in that short interview which I am not at liberty to repeat, and which I could not do without doing violence to my sense of honor, violating every rule of propriety which governs the intercourse of gentlemen, and forfeiting all claim to the position of an honorable member of the community.

If it be the purpose of Paschal and Price to make me endorse the position of the *Republican* and the miserable, base, and cowardly conduct of Gov. Price's submission convention, then they are wofully mistaken. Lashed and driven as they have been by an indignant and outraged constituency from their position of "unconditional union," they are now seeking shelter under the miserable absurdity of "armed neutrality." About the only truth in Paschal's article is that in which he states my policy to

be a "peace policy." This is true. I am for peace, and so is everybody except Lincoln and Frank Blair. You will do me an especial favor to inform Mr. Paschal that whenever Gov. Jackson wishes his position upon matters of public interest properly stated and set before the people, he will take some *direct manner* of doing it, and not rely upon the colored and garbled statements of a set of men who, under the garb of friendship, seek to obtain his confidence only to betray him, and play the part of pumps and spies.

I do not think Missouri should secede to-day or to-morrow, but I do not think it good policy that I should *publicly so declare*. I want a little time to arm the State, and I am assuming every responsibility to do it with all possible dispatch. Missouri should act in concert with Tennessee and Kentucky. They are all bound to go out and should go together if possible. My judgment is that North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas will all be out in a few days, and when they go, Missouri and Kentucky must follow. Let us then prepare to make our exit. *We should keep our own counsels.* Every man in the State is in favor of arming the State. Then let it be done. All are opposed to furnishing Mr. Lincoln with soldiers. Time will settle the balance. Nothing should be said about *the time or the manner* in which Missouri should go out. That she ought to go and will go at the proper time I have no doubt. She ought to have gone last winter when she could have seized the public arms and public property and defended herself. This she has failed to do, and must now wait a little while. Paschal is a base submissionist, and desires to remain with the North if every other slave State should go out. This he proved in endorsing all those who voted against Bast's amendment. The people of Missouri, I must think, understand my position. Paschal knows the people are twenty to one against him and hence he seeks to drag me into his aid and support. You should denounce his course, and expose his baseness. To frighten our people into the most slavish position he parades before them from day to

day our defenseless attitude, and meanly makes it out a thousand times worse than it really is. Missouri can put into the field to-day twenty thousand men, better armed than our fathers were, who won our independence. If you can, I should be very glad to see you here on Tuesday evening. I hope you will fully comprehend my whole policy, and without undertaking to shadow it forth specifically or in detail. I only ask that you will defend me from the false position in which Paschal and Price seem disposed to place me. Call on every country paper to defend me, and assure them I am fighting under the true flag. Who does not know that every sympathy of my heart is with the South? The Legislature, in my view should sit in secret session and touch nothing but the measures of defense. Let the measures of Mr. Sturgeon, Mr. Paschal, Mr. Taylor, & Co., in regard to their Railroads all go by the board. I have not the patience or time to talk of such matters now. Let us first preserve our liberties and attend to business affairs afterward. Let all our energies and all our means be applied to our defense and safety. Yours truly,

C. F. Jackson.

Council Bluffs. — It has for some time past been the practice of those communicating with Council Bluffs to direct their letters, etc., to Chariton [Chariton Co., Mo.]. In order that packages intended for this post should reach there more directly, they should be directed to Council Bluffs, or Liberty (Clay County), Mo. As there is now a monthly express between these two places, the express to Chariton is discontinued.

(*Missouri Intelligencer*, Feb. 25, 1823.)

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR B. GRATZ BROWN, 1871–1873.

Address before the Missouri Historical Society, May 8, 1902.

BY FREDERICK N. JUDSON, OF ST. LOUIS,

Private Secretary of Governor Brown,

The annals of Missouri are not dull. As the central State of the Union, distinctively neither Northern, Southern, Eastern or Western, it has played an exceptional part in the unfolding of the great drama of our national history. The territory was acquired by the American Union in the Louisiana Purchase, soon to be commemorated in our city. It was admitted as a slave State in 1820 through the "Missouri Compromise," the beginning of the slavery agitation, which convulsed the nation for nearly half a century, and ended in civil war. The disruption of the Democratic party, dominant in the State, on the slavery issue, into Benton and anti-Benton factions, anticipated by several years the disruption of the national Democratic party at Charleston in 1860. The civil war really commenced on the Kansas border in 1855. The first organized free soil movement in a border State was in Missouri, where B. Gratz Brown made an emancipation speech in the Missouri Legislature in 1857, and Mr. Lincoln received some 17,000 votes 1860.

The prevailing sentiment of the State, however, was conservative in this ante-war period. A large part of the Democratic party supported Douglas in 1860 as against Breckenridge, and Missouri was the only State to give Douglas its entire electoral vote, and this by a narrow majority over the Constitutional-Union ticket of Bell and Everett.

Of the stirring events in the history of Missouri in the civil war, but brief mention can be made. Its territory was devastated, not only by the march of armies, but also by guerrilla war. Over four hundred battles and skir-

mishes were fought on its soil. It contributed over one hundred thousand men to the Union army and thirty thousand to the Confederate army. The dramatic incidents of this conflict, the division of families, the warring of the different elements in our population, the intensity of the passions aroused, have been effectively presented in Mr. Churchill's "The Crisis," which is even more interesting in its narrative of facts than in its fiction.

The constitution of 1865, the first adopted in the State since the original constitution of 1820, while containing many excellent provisions, was deeply impressed with the passions of the civil war. Its provisions were framed in the early months of 1865, in the last days of the war, and adopted in convention soon after the fall of Richmond. It was submitted to popular vote, the Confederate sympathizers being disfranchised, and declared adopted by a narrow majority. Under its provisions, past and present loyalty was required, not only for the exercise of the right of suffrage, but for the holding of any office of honor, trust or profit under the State or any municipality, and this oath was also required of lawyers, teachers and clergymen. In the Cumings case, it was held by the Supreme Court of the United States (4th Wallace, 277), reversing the Supreme Court of Missouri, that the conviction of a Roman Catholic priest for teaching and preaching, without first having taken the oath, was, in effect, the execution of a bill of attainder, and an *ex post facto* law, in violation of the Constitution of the United States. In its opinion the Court uses this language: —

"The counsel from Missouri closed his argument in this case by presenting a striking picture of the struggle for the ascendency in that State during the recent revolution between the forces and the enemies of the Union, and the fierce passions which that struggle raised. It was in the midst of the struggle that the present constitution was framed, although it was not adopted by the people until the war was closed. It would have been strange, therefore, had it not exhibited in its provisions some traces of

the excitement under which the convention held its deliberations.

"It was against the excited action of the States, under such influences as these, that the Federal Constitution was intended to guard."

While this decision and that in Mr. Garland's case decided at the same time in effect abolished the test oath as a qualification for the practice of a profession, the disfranchisement from voting remained as a matter exclusively of State jurisdiction. An ordinance of the State convention had vacated the offices of all the judges in the State, and the new appointees were required to take the test oath required by the State constitution.[1]

During the civil war the State was under the control of the Union men, the State government, elected in 1860, which sympathized with the Confederacy, being superseded by the appointees of the convention, Governor Gamble and his successor Governor Hall; and the dominant party was divided into what were known as Claybank and Charcoal Republicans, or conservative and radical wings, the latter insisting upon immediate emancipation. It was as representative of the radical party, that B. Gratz Brown was elected to the U. S. Senate in 1863. In 1864 Thomas C. Fletcher was elected Governor by the Republicans, and he was succeeded in 1868 by Governor McClurg, the term of office having been reduced to two years under the constitution of 1865. Meanwhile, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution had been ratified, although the State of Missouri had voted against negro suffrage at the election of 1868 by 18,000 majority.

Meanwhile as the State recovered rapidly from the demoralization of civil war, a heavy emigration poured in and its prosperity advanced by leaps and bounds. The disfranchisement provisions of the constitution were rigidly

[1] The enforcement of this ordinance as to the judges of the Supreme Court will be found detailed in the preface to the 35th volume of the Missouri Reports.

enforced, and as the excited feelings of the civil war period disappeared, these disqualifying clauses became more and more obnoxious, and a growing opinion in the dominant Republican party demanded their removal.

The Democratic party leaders realizing that they were in a hopeless minority in the State while these disfranchisement clauses were enforced, determined to adopt what was called the passive policy, that is, to nominate no State ticket for the election of 1870, so that the liberal sentiment of the Republican party could find full expression. This sentiment found leaders in B. Gratz Brown and in Carl Schurz, then recently elected to the United States Senate as a successor of John B. Henderson, who had fallen from favor with his party by reason of his vote against the impeachment of President Johnson. The General Assembly of 1869 had submitted constitutional amendments to be voted on at the general election of 1870, abolishing all the test oath disfranchisement provisions of the constitution. The Republican State Convention held in Jefferson City, August 31, 1870, refused by a narrow majority to indorse these constitutional amendments, and thereupon the liberals under the lead of Mr. Schurz bolted from the Convention and nominated a full State ticket headed by B. Gratz Brown for Governor. Mr. Brown had been United States Senator from 1863 to 1867. He had been one of the original leaders in the emancipation movement, but aggressive in his opposition to the restrictive clauses of the constitution of 1865. Governor McClurg was nominated by the regulars for re-election. The Democrats were practically unanimous in supporting the liberal ticket, and it was elected by over 40,000 majority. At this same election the test oath provisions were repealed by an almost unanimous vote. Other important constitutional amendments, abolishing district courts and double liability of stockholders, and prohibiting appropriations for sectarian schools, were adopted at the same time.

Governor Brown was thus elected by a union of the

liberal Republicans with the Democrats. Associated with him upon the State ticket were Joseph J. Gravelly, Lieutenant-Governor; Eugene F. Weigel, afterwards Park Commissioner of St. Louis, as Secretary of State; Samuel Hayes, afterwards Postmaster of St. Louis, State Treasurer; Daniel M. Draper, re-elected State Auditor; A. J. Baker was Attorney-General, and Ira Divoll, who had made a distinguished reputation as an educator, was State Superintendent of Schools. He died, however, soon after election, and the Rev. John Montieth, appointed by Governor Brown, filled out his term.

The General Assembly under Governor Brown's administration, the Senate being partly made up of holdovers, was politically divided as follows: —

Senate: Democrats, 13; Fusion, 3; Liberals, 6; Republicans, 12.

House: Democrats, 77; Fusion, 12; Liberals, 20; and Republicans, 24.

At least so the members recorded their party relations. Soon after the organization of the General Assembly however national party lines were formed in the election of a United States Senator, and Frank P. Blair, who was a member of the House, having allied himself with the Democratic party since the adoption of the constitution of 1865, being its candidate for Vice-President in 1868, was nominated by the Democratic caucus. On the other hand, John B. Henderson, who had been *persona non grata* with the Republican leaders since his refusal to vote for the impeachment of President Johnson, and who was understood not to have been in sympathy with the disfranchisement clauses of the constitution, was made the candidate for the Republicans. The vote stood as follows: —

Senate: Blair, 15; Henderson, 16.

House: Blair, 87; Henderson, 42.

This vote represented fairly the political division of the Houses during the administration, the Republicans controlling the Senate and the Democrats the House. Gen-

eral Blair was thus elected to the Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Charles P. Drake.[1]

The 26th General Assembly, thus politically divided, contained many men of ability. A number had served in the State in the ante-bellum period. Many had fought in the civil war, both armies having representatives. Among the Senators, the foremost was James S. Rollins, of Columbia, the father of the State University, then rendering his last public service, as he retired from public life at the close of his term, being defeated in his effort to obtain the Democratic nomination for Governor in 1872. In the Senate also were Henry C. Brockmeyer, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor; Col. Wells H. Blodgett, now general solicitor for the Wabash Railroad; Louis Gottschalk, afterwards Judge of the St. Louis Circuit Court; Henry J. Spaunhorst, and our fellow townsmen, Anthony Ittner and R. D. Lancaster.

Among the members of the House were our fellow-townsmen, General George H. Shields, then representative from Hannibal; John L. Bittinger, from St. Joseph, now U. S. Consul at Montreal; General Frank Blair, who resigned early in the term on his election to the United States Senate; John L. Thomas, of Jefferson, afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court; John R. Walker, of Bates, afterwards United States attorney for the Western District; Nicholas M. Bell, later Assistant Postmaster General; William H. Stone, who served a term in Congress; Peter J. Pauley, and R. P. C. Wilson, of Platte, the Speaker.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

The inaugural address of Governor Brown was a powerful and eloquent plea for universal amnesty, the encouragement of emigration and the removal of all war disabilities, and for a liberal and progressive spirit in legis-

[1] He really succeeded Daniel T. Jewett, who was appointed by Gov. McClurg in December, 1871, to serve pending the election by the General Assembly.

lation. In national affairs he pleaded for the same policy of amnesty, for revenue and civil service reform and for the opening of the Indian Territory. This, as were his other papers, was notable in the annals of Missouri. While he had a clear and analytic mind, his style was rich and at times fairly glowing with imagery. I quote from his inaugural address: —

"In the old days of Haroun Alraschid, we read of genii that had the power to build up splendid palaces in a single night, but in these times the genii, who construct great States, are the master motives that direct the deeds of a vast moving population; and be convinced, that none are so strong as love and peace and freedom."

In his inaugural he also urged the strict maintenance of the State credit, the registration of the State bonds, condemned servile partisanship and strongly pleaded for a more liberal spirit. Adopting the words of Jefferson's inaugural, he said: "We are all Republicans, we are all Democrats;" concluding as follows: —

"It is not within my province or intention to urge upon you the abandonment of any organization with which you may be affiliated, whether Republican or Democratic; far less is it my thought to advocate here the formation of any new political combination or third party. To the after time belong its own children; nor are the portents of a strange birth yet upon us. But relying upon the manifold evidences which have been given that our constituents wish us to address our energies to something worthier that battling the buried issues of a buried decade, confident that a brief term of official life devoted exclusively to calm survey of what is needful in law, essential in reform, wise in initiation, practical in accomplishment, will best answer that expectation, and assured, if it shall transpire that we have forgotten the bitterness of former feuds in good works for the people, and have sunk self-seeking in a sys-

tematic effort to establish better precedence of public service, we shall be considered to have done only our duty. I invite you, if you have at heart the best interests of this great State, to the most cordial co-operation, and may God, in His providence, keep us all to the best endeavors."

During the session, Governor Brown sent in a number of special messages containing recommendations, many of which were adopted then, or later; but as to a few of them he took positions which public opinion has not yet reached.

REVENUE LEGISLATION.

Thus he strongly recommended the revision and reform of the revenue laws, and in this respect more important changes were made during his administration than in any previous period in the history of the State. The income tax imposed in the civil war period was abolished, the poll tax which had been in force since the beginning of our statehood was repealed and has never since reappeared in our State taxing system. The general system of assessing and collecting taxes upon railroads through a State Board of Equalization was adopted in substantially the form which has continued to the present time. Prior to this time railroads had been assessed and taxed in the various counties with very unsatisfactory results, and this system, adopted in 1871, whereby the valuation of roadbed rolling stock is made by a State Board and distributed to the counties through which the roads run on the mileage basis, has since been adopted in many other States.

Important changes were made in the revenue system in other respects, the entire revenue act being revised. Governor Brown approved this revised general revenue law with reluctance, as he felt that the revision did not go far enough. He called the attention of the general assembly to the reports of the tax commissions, notably that headed by the late David A. Wells in New York. He recommen-

ded that real estate, which was then assessed every two years, should only be assessed at intervals of four years. But in this matter of tax reform, we have actually gone backwards instead of forwards, as now we revalue real estate every year, thus putting a penalty upon making improvements.

Among the recommendations made at this session, which were then or subsequently adopted, were the appointment of State Railroad Commissioners, the increase of the powers and efficiency of the insurance department, the establishment of a State Reformatory for juvenile criminals.

Among other recommendations, he strongly advocated a more effective organization of the mining, metallurgy and geological bureau, and of a State board of guardianship for penal and charitable institutions. He also advocated the reform of the divorce laws of the State, to the effect that marriage of the guilty party with a participant in adultery should be prohibited, and that no divorce should be granted for misconduct other than adultery until one year's delay after filing the proceeding. He also recommended a constitutional amendment abolishing the grand jury system.[1]

LEGISLATION.

Among the more important legislative acts during the administration may be noted the following: The registration system was reformed to conform to the recent constitutional amendment, effectively abolishing the disabilities imposed by the constitution of 1865. A bureau of geology was established and the office of State Geologist created. The necessary legislation for erecting the Union Station and connecting it by the tunnel with the Eads Bridge, then nearing completion, was enacted. The Merchants' Exchange was authorized to form a corporation and erect an Exchange Building. A Board of Guardians for the State Charitable and Penal Institutions was established. The

[1] Under recent (1900) amendment of the constitution, information and indictment are made concurrent remedies in criminal procedure.

Township Organization Act, extending the privileges of township organization where voted by the people in any county, was passed.

Important changes were made in the judicial system of the State. A constitutional amendment abolishing District Courts was carried into effect and appeals carried direct from the Circuit Court to the Supreme Court. A constitutional amendment increasing the judges of the Supreme Court from three to five was submitted and adopted by the people in 1872. A new executive mansion was built and furnished. Consent was also given by the State to the purchase and use of land in St. Louis for the erection of a United States building, and ceding jurisdiction over same, and under this act the land was acquired, on which the present post office and custom house was built. The most important legislation for St. Louis, however, was the establishment of Forest Park, and Northern, afterwards called O'Fallon Park.[1]

EDUCATIONAL.

Governor Brown was warmly interested in the educational progress of the State, and important legislation in that cause was enacted during his administration. Under the able lead of Senator Rollins a bond issue of $166,000 was authorized for the benefit of the State University for its agricultural and mechanical departments, and $35,000 additional for the School of Mines at Rolla, these bonds representing the amount of stock held by the State in the old State Bank, and also representing what the State had received under the act of Congress for establishing schools of agriculture. The University in all its departments was made substantially free by the substitution of a nominal entrance fee for all tuition charges. The State Normal School at Kirksville was established.

[1] The act establishing Forest Park was declared void (52 Mo. 453) on grounds which were remedied by subsequent legislation.

STATE SCHOOL FUND — CERTIFICATE OF INDEBTEDNESS.

Final settlement having been made of the sale of the bank stock of the State belonging to the State school fund, the proceeds whereof had been used by preceding administrations for current expenses or for the sinking fund, a certificate of indebtedness was authorized by the General Assembly, to be issued to the State Board of Education, as trustee of the public school fund, for the sum of $900,000.00, bearing six per cent, this being the principal sum received for the sale of the bank stock, with interest for six years, and it was declared to be the duty of the State auditor to pay the interest on this certificate each year from the revenue fund to the public school fund. This was the beginning of the issue of State certificates of indebtedness, which have figured so much in recent political discussion. The act received the approval of all parties, and passed without objection.

It was at this time and in this connection that the policy of investing the State school funds in State bonds was adopted. The constitution of 1865 had provided that the State school funds should be invested in bonds of the United States, and prohibited their investment in the bonds of any State, city or corporation. The State debt at this time was nearly $18,000,000, and the credit of the State was far from being well established, the market price of the bonds being considerably below par. It was therefore deemed a wise policy, concurred in by all parties in the General Assembly, who were freely consulted by Governor Brown, in that it would aid in creating a market for the State bonds, which the State would be obliged to issue in renewal of its maturing indebtedness, to authorize the investment of the State school fund in such bonds. A constitutional amendment was therefore prepared as a result of this conference of Governor Brown with the leaders of both parties, which was unanimously adopted in both houses of the General Assembly and approved by the people by substantially a unanimous vote in November,

1872, authorizing the investment of the school funds in the bonds of the State of Missouri, as well as in bonds of the United States. This amendment was also incorporated in the constitution of 1875, so that the investment of the school fund in obligations of the State has been the declared policy of the State since the adoption of this amendment in 1872.

The policy thus inaugurated of investing the State school fund in bonds of the State was continued by succeeding administrations, and as the form of evidencing the State's obligation was immaterial, certificates of indebtedness were issued from time to time in lieu of State bonds which were canceled. The aggregate State debt therefore includes the amount of these certificates, as they are only another form of evidencing the State's obligation, which has not yet been discharged and cannot be as long as the certificates are outstanding. It is obvious that if the State had not adopted this policy of investing the school fund in State bonds, the State bonded debt at the present time would be increased by the amount which is now represented by these certificates.

ADJOURNED SESSIONS.

The constitution of 1865 did not, as did that of 1875, prohibit adjourned sessions of the General Assembly. The General Assembly therefore adjourned in March, 1871 to the first Wednesday in the following December, and continued in session at this adjourned session until late in the following March; and a special or called session was held in the summer of 1872 for the purpose of redistricting the State into Congressional districts, the census of 1870 giving the State four additional representatives in Congress.

In this connection it should also be noted that at this period the volume of legislation was much larger than at present, as will be seen by comparing the size of the volumes of session laws. The constitution did not then contain the absolute prohibition against special legislation which is in the constitution of 1875, and it was left for

the General Assembly to determine whether a special law was required. The constitution prohibited the granting of special corporate charters, but, as construed by the Supreme Court, did not prohibit the amending of special charters theretofore granted. The result was a vast amount of special legislation, protracted sessions and a numerous and active lobby.

The reform effected on this matter by the stringent provisions of the constitution of 1875, which were in great measure recommended by Governor Brown, have been most salutary and far-reaching, and a prolific source of jobbery and legislative lobbying has been removed.

MESSAGE TO ADJOURNED SESSION.

The annual message of Governor Brown to the adjourned session at the close of the first year of his administration was a notable document. He announced that he had made no removals from office, because none were demanded by any public interest. He said commissions had been conferred upon citizens connected with each of the three parties, and the solicitude had been rather to find suitable abilities than a Republican, Democrat or Liberal record. He reported that the State bonds had risen in price from 87 to 98c. The State debt was reported at $17,866,000. He recommended the registration of bonds and the payment of the interest in coin. He called attention to the great increase in county and municipal debts which were estimated at the aggregate of $40,911,000. An act of the last session had limited such debts to ten per cent of the valuation, there being no constitutional restriction, as at present. He recommended legislation, which was enacted at the adjourned session, prohibiting any issue of local bonds without a vote of the people. He called attention to the excessive cost of collecting revenue, and urged an increase of the Supreme Court from three to five judges, which was effected by a constitutional amendment. He called attention to the excessive multiplication of local courts by special legislation, the excessive costs in criminal cases, and really anticipated the

scheme and charter of 1875, in his recommendation for the separation of city and county governments in St. Louis. On this point he said: —

"Initiate this remedy and the great cities of the nation, following the example and building up a life within themselves and at the same time a public opinion to control that life, may become again as in older times, when freedom had no other refuge, — the light and ornaments, rather than the blots upon our civilization."

He warmly recommended the expansion and liberalization of the State University, and the revision of our common school system. Other matters connected with the State administration were exhaustively considered, and many recommendations were made, which have since been enacted into laws.

GOVERNOR BROWN ON PENAL LAWS.

But it was in the discussion of the penitentiary and our criminal laws that his high-minded, humanitarian views were set forth, and in these matters he was distinctly in advance of public opinion even at our time. During his term of office, no capital sentence (as I remember) was executed, but in several cases commutations to life sentences were made. His views on this subject may be indicated by this quotation from his message: —

"In criminal matters, as in other social appliance, property is but too apt to assert an undue elevation above labor, and forget that theft and conversion of another's possessions does not differ very widely from obtaining another's labor with intent to evade a payment. Yet the punishments are widely different. Imprisonment for debt has been abolished, and we are content to provide civil remedies for restitution. Might it not be well to look in the same direction for a corrective to the other kind of criminality, and in cases of trivial larcenies, enforce resti-

tution to the party aggrieved by asylums utilizing the labor of the party offending. Abandon the revenges of society, and teach its industries. The conscience of the condemned, instead of brooding over degradation, might thereafter stand in some measure acquitted of obligation and reproach. It is the thought of the ablest scientists of the age that the adoption of such measures, cutting off the supply of criminals by educational reform schools, and correcting minor offenses through industrial restitutions, would result in such large reduction of the numbers in State prisons, that they could be treated with greater regard to the offenses for which they are incarcerated, and something like a mental and moral hygiene brought to bear that would go far to work a reformation over them."

At this time the limit of grand larceny was $10; the Governor urged that it be increased to $25. It since has been increased to $30. He strongly recommended that a jury should have power to fix either death or imprisonment for life in any capital crime; that a person acquitted of murder on the ground of insanity should be confined in an asylum.

DEVELOPMENT OF MINERAL RESOURCES.

He urged the most liberal policy in the development of the mineral resources of the State. In this Governor Brown took the deepest interest. It was owing to his efforts that the geological bureau was established on a liberal basis. "When these resources," he said, "are "unfolded by a systematic, elaborate and thorough geo- "logical inquest, they would pour forth such a treasury "into every avenue of trade, give such employment to "skilled labor, that your State must needs be myriad- "handed to wed industry to all its rich rewards."

THE STATE CREDIT.

Governor Brown took the strongest ground on the maintenance of State credit, but he did not succeed in

carrying the General Assembly with him in sustaining his own advanced position. Certain of the State railroad bonds, issued in 1852, were redeemable at the pleasure of the legislature at any time after the expiration of twenty years from date, and these bonds on their face were payable in gold or silver coin. The act under which the bonds were issued stated that they should state in what currency they were to be paid, but did not restrict the executive officers to any kind of currency. At this time, January, 1872, the legal tender act of Congress had been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States. But that court had also, in Bronson *v.* Rhodes,[1] enforced contracts calling specifically for payment in coin. Gold was at a premium of some ten per cent, making the legal tender notes worth some 91 cents in gold; silver dollars, being then undervalued, were not in circulation at all. The Fund Commissioners, under advice of the Governor, took the position that the principal of these maturing bonds should be paid in coin. The General Assembly thereupon passed a concurrent resolution instructing the Fund Commissioners to pay the bonds in legal tender notes.

The Governor vetoed this resolution in a vigorous message, wherein he declared that the strictest good faith was the wisest public policy, and this was especially true in a State which must needs be a borrower to develop its vast natural resources, and should command the money markets of the world on the best possible terms; and that it was a dishonor for the State, relying on the protection of its sovereignty from being sued in the courts, to refuse to perform the clear stipulations of its contracts. With this veto message the Governor submitted to the General Assembly the opinion of the Supreme Court, deeming that this was a "solemn occasion wherein the governor was authorized to call for the opinion of that court." The opinion of the court is found in the 49th Missouri, p. 216, concurred in by Justices Adams and Bliss, and sustains the Governor's position in full. The opinion held that the bonds were

[1] 7 Wallace, 229.

payable only in gold or silver coin, that this obligation was not nullified by the legal tender act of Congress, and that it would be a breach of the contract for the State to order a payment of the bonds in legal tender notes, and that as the notes were not equal to gold or silver, the payment of them in legal tender would leave a part of the debt unpaid.

But all this was unavailing against the specious plea that "the money paid the plowholder was good enough for the bondholder," and the resolution was carried over the veto, the constitution permitting this to be done by a majority vote, by a vote of 21 to 11 in the Senate, and 74 to 45 in the House;[1] and so the bonds specifically payable in gold or silver were paid in legal tender notes, then worth about 91 cents on the dollar in coin. The effect was to depreciate the State credit, the bonds falling from 98 to 93 cents, and the direct pecuniary loss to the State in the negotiation of State and municipal securities then pending was estimated by Governor Brown at over $400,000.

THE GUNN CITY ASSASSINATIONS.

The demoralization of the civil war was shown in exhibitions of lawlessness in the southeastern part of the State in 1871, which were promptly checked by calling out the militia of the vicinage to sustain the civil officers.

Allusion has already been made to the extensive issues of county and municipal securities in aid of railroad enterprises. In many cases these were issued under railroad charters which allowed such subscriptions by county or municipal officers without a vote of the people. The constitution of 1865 did prohibit counties from loaning their credit without the consent of two-thirds vote of the people; but this had been construed by the Supreme Court as a

[1] This vote was not partisan. But in the main, the veto was supported by the Liberals, both among the Republicans and the Democrats, but was opposed by the "straight" Republicans, and by the "straight" or anti-Brown Democrats. James S. Rollins in the Senate, and John L. Thomas, in the House, were leaders in the fight for the administration.

limitation on future legislation only and not as operating to repeal enabling acts in existence when the constitution took effect. When this extraordinary power was exercised by officials who were elected during the period of disfranchisement, it was inevitable that reports of jobbery and corruption would find ready credence and arouse intense feeling; and such reports were too often founded in fact. The General Assembly in 1872 made the issue of bonds without the vote of the people a felony. On April 24, 1872, one of the Judges of the County Court of Cass County the County Attorney and another party implicated in a bond issue for the county were seized by a mob, while traveling on a railroad train for the purpose of consummating an alleged fraudulent issue of bonds, and shot. Governor Brown ordered a company of militia from Kansas City, sent the Attorney-General of the State to the vicinity to investigate, and appointed the Honorable John F. Philips of Sedalia, now United States Judge for the Western District, and Francis M. Cockerell, of Warrensburg, now United States Senator, as a special commission to investigate. There seems to have been no concealment of the parties implicated in the assassination; fifty-four were indicted, but no convictions were had.

Governor Brown reported these circumstances in his last message to the General Assembly in January, 1873, and urged the amendment of our criminal law, so that the State could procure a change of venue in criminal prosecutions, when local sympathy or unlawful combinations rendered it necessary, and that in such cases the prosecuting attorney should act under the direction of the Attorney-General. But this recommendation was not adopted. But the instance only illustrates how vain it is to hope for the enforcement of any prosecution or any law when opposed by local public opinion.

THE VISIT OF GRAND DUKE ALEXIS.

Another incident of the administration of Governor Brown, of a different character from the foregoing, should

not be overlooked, as it is recalled by the recent visit to St. Louis of the representative of the Imperial house of Germany. In the winter of 1871–2, the Grand Duke Alexis, the younger son of the Czar Alexander II., of Russia, visited the United States, making an extensive tour over the far West, and spending several days in St. Louis. On his journey through the State, the Grand Duke and his party stopped several hours at Jefferson City. He was formally received by the Governor, in the presence of the General Assembly and State officials. Governor Brown made a brief, felicitous address, alluding to the friendship of Russia to the United States during the civil war, to the difference in the social and political institutions of the countries, saying: "You come with youth, frankness and unreserve; such credentials will always command regard." The Grand Duke replied, saying that he was very glad that he had been able to acquire much valuable information about the working of our social and political institutions, and he was sure the more we knew of each other the better would our friendship become; and he also expressed his pleasure that he had an opportunity of seeing the Houses of the Legislature in session. Both Houses then proceeded with their ordinary business, and he visited each in turn. He listened to a discussion in the Senate on the bill authorizing the condemnation of land for the purpose of extending the grounds of the capitol and executive mansion, and to an interesting speech of Senator Brockmeyer, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor, on the jealous protection afforded by our law against any invasion even by the State of the property rights of citizens.

The Grand Duke and his party were entertained by the Governor at lunch in the new executive mansion, which was then just completed, and this was the first social event there celebrated. In this connection it is proper to mention that the social life at the executive mansion during the administration of Governor Brown was exceptionally interesting and enjoyable. Mrs. Brown was a native of Jeffer-

son City, of an old and esteemed Jefferson family. With her efficient assistance, and that of Miss Eliza Brown, the Governor's sister, who was a member of the household at the time, and also with guests from St. Louis, the hospitalities of the executive mansion were worthily dispensed with cordial greeting and dignity.

THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT.

The success in Missouri of the Liberal Republican movement and the passive policy on the part of the Democrats naturally led to the belief that the same policy would succeed in the wider national field, in view of the disaffection caused by the reconstruction policy of the Republican party in the South and the growing dissensions among the Republican party leaders. But events proved that this was a mistake; that the conditions which had proven so effective in Missouri did not exist in the country at large, and although the passive policy was adopted by the national Democratic party to the extent of renominating the candidates of the Liberal Republicans, Greeley and Brown, the result was overwhelming defeat.

In Missouri the Liberal Republican movement made its last appearance as an organization in the summer of 1872, when a separate convention was held on the same day with the Democratic State Convention, and after a conference, three positions on the State ticket were allowed the Liberal Republicans, to wit, the Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State and Register of Lands; and for these positions our fellow townsman, Charles P. Johnson, was nominated and elected Lieutenant-Governor; and Eugene F. Weigel, Secretary of State, and Mr. Solomon, Register of Lands, were renominated and elected to their respective offices. The Fusion ticket was elected over the Republican ticket headed by John B. Henderson, by a large majority, nearly as large as that which elected the Liberal Republican ticket two years before, while the total vote showed an increase of over 100,000.

This was the end of the Liberal Republican party as an organization. The completeness of its success was the cause of its disappearance. A party based upon a single issue, called into being to meet a single emergency, could not in the nature of things become permanent. Its policies remained permanently adopted by the State, and though its party life was short, it is entitled to the imperishable glory of having destroyed the last vestiges of the civil war in Missouri. A nobler record no party could have.

The members of the Liberal Republican party returned to the Republican or Democratic parties, as their opinions or prejudices inclined them. The greater number, doubtless, returned to the Republican party; this was certainly true as to the German-American voters who had contributed very largely to the Liberal movement.

The extent of the disfranchisement which was ended by the Liberal Republican success may be estimated by a comparison of the total vote at different elections. The total vote in 1860, the last election before the civil war, was 165,000. In 1864, while the civil war was raging, it was 103,000. In 1870, the year of the Liberal Republican success when the colored voters, enfranchised under the Fifteenth Amendment, voted for the first time, the total was 167,600, showing but a slight increase over 1860, though there had been a very heavy increase in population. In 1872, the first election after the removal of the disabilities, the total vote was 278,900, being an increase of over 100,000 from two years before.

The last message of Governor Brown was that submitted to the General Assembly on his retiring from office in January, 1873. It is marked throughout by the same lofty, statesmanlike tone that characterized all his State papers. It contains no trace of the disappointment of his political hopes and ambitions. Its spirit is best reflected by these memorable words in this message, which I quote in conclusion: "Missouri is a grand State and deserves to be grandly governed."

HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.

BY REV. DR. MEADE C. WILLIAMS.

(Read before Missouri Historical Society, Nov. 13, 1902.)

Modern physical science was in its infancy, some lines of it, indeed, yet entirely unopened, when Schoolcraft began his career. In his own acquirements, and in his contributions to the world's knowledge he cannot take rank with modern scientists. But for the age in which he flourished he did a work and obtained a name which merits our study.

In a wide sense of the word he was a naturalist. He was at home in geology, as far as then advanced. He did a large and special work in mineralogy, at that time an almost unknown science in the United States. He studied the phenomena of meteorology. He was a great traveler, always on errands of scientific interest. He was a pioneer explorer in the vast and largely unknown Northwest. He was an enthusiastic student in archaeology, and he was particularly known as an investigator and standard authority in all that pertained to the ethnology of the North American Indian. He was a man, too, of general literary tastes and of wide reading.

There is special reason why Schoolcraft should be a fit subject for a study before the Missouri Historical Society, inasmuch as his first work was done in this State and was one of great importance to the State.

Henry R. Schoolcraft was born in Albany County, N. Y., March 28th, 1793. While a mere lad he gave great intellectual promise and was known in his village as "the learned boy." He was but 14 years of age when he began contributions to the county paper, both in prose and in verse. At the age of 15 he formed an association for mental improvement, made up of persons of literary taste and acquirements, all of whom were his seniors.

He was ardent in pursuit of knowledge of almost every kind. He entered Union College, New York, and

trained himself to be a student on his own lines of teaching, so that afterwards, without instructors and with the aid only of grammars and lexicons he taught himself the Hebrew and German languages.

In 1817, at the age of twenty-four, and, as far as appears, entirely at his own prompting and at his own expense, he set out to study the geography, geology and mineralogy of the Mississippi Valley. The portions he studied were principally of Missouri, and Schoolcraft's name is indelibly linked with the history of the mineralogy of this State. It was an immense journey, in those days, from Eastern New York. By slow stages, mostly by water courses, he made his way to Pittsburg, and from there down the Ohio River, 1,000 miles, to its mouth, the site of the present Cairo. Then entering the Mississippi, bound first for St. Louis, by slow up-stream journeys, the men poling the barge at the rate of five or six miles per day, and he exploring on foot the whole of the shore on the Missouri side, in a little over three weeks he reached Herculaneum. Here, tying up, he made the remaining distance of thirty miles to St. Louis tramping through the woods and over the hills, remarking in his journal on every particular topographical feature on the way. He notices our Sulphur Springs in Jefferson County as "resorted to by persons suffering from bilious complaints." He speaks of the picturesque scenery of the locality and considers it "susceptible of being made a delightful resort." He passes through Carondelet, mentions its old soubriquet of *Vide-Poche*. Notices it has about sixty wooden houses, mostly on one street, and that its population was exclusively French. After breakfasting there, he pushes on for St. Louis. The first three miles took him through a desolate brushy heath, then patches of cultivation began to appear, and these better tokens increased as he drew nearer the city. While here he was the guest of Mr. R. Pettibone, who was associated in business with a Col. Eastman. Schoolcraft was greatly pleased with St. Louis. He reports for it at that time about 550 houses and 5,000 in-

habitants. He was much interested in a private museum of antiquities and relics which belonged to Gen. Clark, of Lewis & Clark expeditionary fame. The city's site he thought unsurpassed for its beauty and its permanency. "It is idle," he says, "to talk of any city of Europe or Asia, situated as this is, 1200 miles from the sea, which can be named as its future equal." ("Memoirs of Thirty Years," p. 34.) He calls it "the Queen of the West," and predicts the day when it will be the seat of empire for that vast basin of land between the Allegheny and Rocky Mountains and between the Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico. We are flattered by all this, but he left the yet unborn Chicago out of his dreams. He says that while here his attention was called to two large mounds on the western bank of the river a short distance above St. Louis, and that he had no hesitation in the opinion that they were of geological formation and not artificial.

He seems not to have made a long stay in the city, being eager to begin his investigations in the mining regions. Making Potosi his headquarters and the center of his survey, he thoroughly examined all that district. As indicating the carefulness and pains with which he made his investigations, there was scarcely a mine or a digging in the country for 40 miles around, which he did not personally examine, and there were few persons who had given attention to the subject from whom he did not derive some information.

Not content with the mineralogical study of the field, he wished to learn also its geological connection with the Ozarks and other high ranges, and he prosecuted an exploring expedition which led him through Southwestern Missouri and into Arkansas. This was done during the fall and winter and was attended with difficulties and hazards. In this expedition he was accompanied by his friend, Mr. L. Pettibone, who wrote a brief sketch pertaining to the same which was published in this Society's Collections for January, 1900.

As concerning this whole work of about one year,

Schoolcraft published three different volumes: 1. General narrative covering his journey from Pittsburgh on. 2. "A view of the Lead Mines of Missouri." 3. "Scenes and adventures in the Ozark Mountains."

Returning to the East (down the Mississippi and via New Orleans) having traveled in his year and a half of absence some 6,000 miles, he was most favorably received by the scientific circles in New York City. The communications he was able to make and the mineral and geological specimens he exhibited, made a strong impression. He at once published his narrative and submitted a copy to the authorities at Washington, deeming it might be serviceable there in the management of the lead mines of Missouri as being then part of the public domain.

John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War in Monroe's Cabinet, at that time, was so impressed by Schoolcraft's qualifications and spirit of enterprise, that he appointed him to the position of geologist and mineralogist in an expedition about to be sent out from Detroit under Gen. Lewis Cass, then the Governor of Michigan Territory. They went to observe the condition of the Indians, make purchases of land, make treaties with them, to survey the topography of the country and get data for accurate maps — to study the Lake Superior copper mines, etc. They set out in the spring of 1820, Schoolcraft being then 27 years of age. They visited the regions of the upper lakes, and worked over to the upper Mississippi and then descended southwards, taking in the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers Valleys and the shores of Lake Michigan. A detailed report of this Schoolcraft published under the title of "A narrative Journal of Travels through the American Lakes."

Immediately after this, another work of a similar kind offered itself which Mr. Schoolcraft entered upon with great avidity — an exploration of the valleys of the Miami, the Wabash, and the Illinois Rivers, all which find their outlets in the "Father of Waters." Having already studied the Mississippi Valley, and been both at the far northern origins and at the far southern mouth of that great river,

he was now glad to connect these extremities, as it were, by his personal knowledge of the central portions of that most interesting valley.

In 1822 Congress established an Indian Agency at the foot of Lake Superior, at the ancient French village of Sault de Ste. Marie (now popularly known as the "Soo"). Schoolcraft was immediately appointed by President Monroe, as agent for Indian affairs on the Northwest Frontier with headquarters at this point. Besides the immediate duties of the position, it was interesting to him as affording a wide field for historical and ethnological research and for his studies in natural history. It was a remote pioneer point in a desolate wilderness amid Indians, half-breeds and French traders. A military post, established in connection with the agency, and the family of Mr. John Johnston residing there furnished some elements of social life out on this verge of the civilized world. This Mr. Johnston was a native of the north of Ireland, of high family connections and a cultivated gentleman, of excellent character. He had come as a young man to the Western world to better his fortunes. After a short residence in Montreal, he made his way to this Lake Superior region in connection with the fur business. There he married a full-blooded Indian girl, the daughter of a chief, and this village was their home. He had eight children, among them three or four attractive daughters. These half-Indian girls had grown up educated and refined young women, having been sent off to the best schools. One of these daughters became Schoolcraft's wife — spoken of as most gentle and winning and pious, devoted as a mother, and as having considerable literary talent, and who had been in Europe for education. By reason of his long residence in the Northwest and his close relations with the Indians into which the duties of his office brought him, he became an ardent student of their history, their languages, their customs, their religions, traditions, myths, etc. His connection with the family, in which his marriage brought him, of course greatly facilitated these

pursuits. For a large part of his life he was in close contact with the red men, thrown with them in his travels in the wilderness, seeing their wigwam life, and dealing with thousands of them individually in the duties of his office. Perhaps to many his chief reputation lies in that line, as the great Indian ethnologist. He and Catlin are the two best authorities on the subject, Schoolcraft, however, being the first of the two, not, perhaps, for any greater accuracy, but for greater elaborateness in treatment.

While residing at the "Soo" he was frequently off on long and wearisome journeys on Government business, attending convocations of the Indian tribes, quieting them and adjusting difficulties when they were threatening war, settling land questions, making treaties, etc. For four years during this period he was a member of the Territorial Legislature of Michigan. In 1832 he was directed by the Indian and War Department at Washington to conduct an expedition into the distant region of the Upper Mississippi, into the northern part of what is now the State of Minnesota. In this expedition he traced the river beyond the point they had reached in the Cass Expedition of 1820, and stopped not until he actually stood at its very source in Lake Itasca. This was some 300 years subsequent to DeSoto's discovery of the lower portion, and it was said at the time that Schoolcraft was thought then to be the only man in America who had seen the Mississippi from its source in Itasca Lake to its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico. A narrative of this expedition is embodied in his "Discovery of the source of the Mississippi River."

About this time the Government transferred the Superintendency of Indian affairs from the "Soo" to the Island of Mackinac, situated in the straits which connect Lakes Michigan and Huron. Mr. Schoolcraft moved with his family to that island in 1833, making it his home for eight years ensuing. Having myself been a summer sojourner at Mackinac for many years past, that period of his life was a special interest to my mind. He dwelt in what was known as "The Old Agency" — an old rambling French

pattern of a house built long before his coming, and surviving his departure for over thirty years, when it accidentally took fire and was destroyed. Along with attention to all the duties of his office, he maintained the habits of scholarly pursuit, ever alert for new materials of knowledge. He kept abreast of the general literature of the day, reading the books of note and the quarterly reviews as they appeared, and himself making contributions to literature by his own books and review articles and treatises, which were published in this country and in England. In his remote island-home, ice-bound for half of the year and largely shut out from the world, he was yet well known by his writings in the highest circles of learning. Visitors of note from Europe as well as from the Eastern States, coming to Mackinac, were frequently calling at his house with letters of introduction. Among these from abroad might be mentioned Miss Harriet Martineau, Capt. Marryatt, the novelist, and Mrs. Jameson, author of "Sacred and Legendary Art," "Memoirs of the early Italian Painters," etc. This English lady was a two weeks' visitor in the "Old Agency" home.

So well was Schoolcraft now known that he had complimentary membership in all the leading scientific, historical and antiquarian societies, both in this country and in the old world. He had correspondents among scholars and savants of the highest rank. His opinions and views on subjects of which he had made a study were greatly prized. The eminent Sir Humphrey Davy of England expressed the highest appreciation of certain contributions of scientific interest which Schoolcraft had prepared, and Charles Darwin, in his famous "Descent of Man," quotes with approval some opinion he had expressed, and called him "a most capable judge." Prof. Silliman, also ex-Presidents John Adams, Thos. Jefferson, and James Madison, wrote him letters of marked approbation respecting a paper he had written for the American Geological Society. Bancroft conferred with him when writing those parts of his "History of the United States" which pertain to the

Indians, and was in frequent correspondence with him; and Longfellow, in his Hiawatha Indian notes, expressed his sense of obligation to him. Some of Schoolcraft's lectures were translated into French, and a prize was awarded him by the National Institute of France. Among his frequent correspondents (as he was an active Christian and in sympathy with all church interests) were the secretaries of different missionary societies in the East, seeking his counsel in reference to the location of stations and the best methods of work among the Indian tribes. The amount of literary work he accomplished was remarkable, especially in view of his public services, which often required extensive journeys in distant wilderness regions and much of camp life. He was of remakable physical vigor and industry, however, and it was said of him that he had been known to write from sun to sun almost every day for many years. He published altogether about thirty volumes.

In personal character he was a man of great simplicity and openness and marked by integrity and uprightness and rigid morality. He was a firm believer in the Christian system of revealed truth. While living on Mackinac Island he was an office bearer in the spiritual work of a little church that once flourished there. It is interesting to find that while enthusiastically engaged in his antiquarian researches and noting every local phenomenon of natural science, and corrresponding with scholars and societies and entertaining many distinguished visitors, he seemed always actively concerned in the details of the little church. At one time, when without a pastor, he used to gather the people in the church and himself conduct a service and read them an approved sermon from some book.

As illustrating his strictness of principle — when in the expedition to the headwaters of the Mississippi in 1832, having a force under him of some thirty men, in severe and arduous labor, working the canoes through rivers and morasses, carrying them over portages between streams, crossing forest highlands, etc., "this was accom-

plished from beginning to end," he says in his official report to Washington, "without the use of so much as a drop of ardent spirits of any kind, either by the men upon whom the fatigue and labor fell, or by the gentlemen who composed the exploring party." He had engaged the men at the outset on the distinct understanding that while there would be abundance of good, wholesome food at all times, there would be no liquor furnished nor allowed. And again, in this connection, what he elsewhere describes as his "invariable rule," which he had years before adopted in all his business with Indian affairs in his office at home, he carried with him in this wilderness expedition — he sacredly remembered the first day of the week, known as the Sabbath day or Sunday. "It was laid down as a principle," he states in his report to the Department, "to rest on that day, and wherever it overtook us, whether on the land or on the water, the men knew that the labor would cease and that the day would be given them for rest." It should also be recorded of him that he always did his utmost as a government official to protect his Indians against the ravages of the whisky trade. He did not hesitate to set himself in conflict with the powerful American Fur Co. in this matter.

Schoolcraft was marked by great sedateness and gravity which gave him perhaps too much an air of reserve. He was an exceedingly busy and laborious man all his life, and so absorbed with his pursuits that he may not have mingled as freely with society as most men enjoy doing. Outside of limited circles he was not very intimately known personally. I have found among a few very old people of the island who could remember back into the thirties when he lived there, that they stood in awe of him, and never had much association with him, and that Jas. Schoolcraft, a younger brother, and far less worthy man, much of a rowdy, in fact, but very jovial and a "good mixer." was more popular.

I have met certain Indian-blood nieces of Schoolcraft in that upper lake country (now old ladies) who have told me

the same, that is, that they enjoyed more the younger brother, though knowing their uncle was a man of exalted character. In all his writings, as far as I have examined, there is scarcely anything in the way of allusion or anecdote or incident that borders on the jocose or humorous. "Scarcely anything," I say, yet some little. In his narrative of his trip down the Ohio River, spending some time at Cincinnati, and becoming acquainted with a young man there of his own age, who was afterwards the father of the late ex-President Benjamin Harrison, he relates a practical joke with which, between the two, was perpetrated on an unsophisticated countryman. Then, at another time, he relates a story of this kind: That a certain boat crew, overtaken in the lake by an early freezing, were obliged to tie up at the nearest point of land to winter in the woods. They turned themselves into wood-choppers, to get out a load of logs; one man refused the ax, saying he had not been hired for that kind of work. "What were you hired for then?" asked the Captain. "I was hired to steer the boat," was the reply. "Very well, then," said the Captain, "go to your work." And he made him take his stand at the tiller, the rudder and the whole boat being stiff in two feet of ice. "It was not long," writes Schoolcraft, "before the man begged to be released and to be given an ax among the trees." Another story of his I find in one of Mrs. Jameson's books, introduced by her as a "laughable anecdote told me by Mr. Schoolcraft." That an Indian presented himself to one of the agents, observing that he was a good man, very good man indeed, and a good friend to the whites, and requested a dram of whisky. The agent replied that he never gave whisky to good men, that good men never asked for whisky, or never drank it. It was only bad Indians who asked for whisky, or liked it to drink. The Indian, seeing how the wind lay and changing his pose accordingly, quickly replied, "Me great rascal."

Schoolcraft held a government appointment for some 20

years. He had held under the administrations of Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Jackson and Van Buren. He was a Democrat in politics. In 1841, when the Whigs came in power, he lost his position. If ever any one in government office was free from the mere partisanship of politics, it was surely he. He expressed himself on the subject in a communication addressed to a personal friend in Washington. This letter, in its original MSS. form I have had in my possession for a few years.

His engagement in the Superintendency of Indian Affairs ceasing in 1841, Mr. Schoolcraft removed from the island of Mackinac to the State of New York, and after an extensive travel in Europe, devoted himself principally to literary work.

It was in this period that his different publications concerning the Indians were prepared, based on notes, memorandum and data which he had been abundantly gathering for 30 years. Among them are: 1. A number of papers contained in a serial publication of Indian miscellany titled Oneota (taken from the name of an early Indian tribe), and pertaining to the language, the wigwam life, the characteristics, the religion, the music, the myths and legends, etc., of the Indians. 2. His "Algic Researches." 3. His "Notes on the Iroquois" or the "Six Nations," which he published under the authority of the Legislature of New York; and: 4, his very extensive "Ethnological Researches among the Red Men," which was prepared by the direction of Congress and at its expense. This is in six large volumes with over 300 colored engravings, and was issued in the then best style of the printer's art, — the first volume appearing in 1850. It is a thesaurus of information and furnishes the most complete and authentic treatment the subject has ever received.

As illustrative of his clear perception, and his good common sense, in representing the conditions of Indian life, let me cite a single instance from his writings. It is in reference to the prevailing idea that the Indian woman is overburdened with work and drudgery while the man sits

around in lordly ease. On the contrary, he claimed that the duties and labors of Indian life were equally, and not unequally divided between the male and female. The man is a hunter, he says, that is his employment and vocation. Involving long absences from home and perilous toil is not a mere pastime. Thus was the main sustenance of every Indian community provided. He had also to be the warrior, ready at a moment's notice to go on the warpath, or to protect the women and children from sudden attacks of other tribes. In the lodge he was a mild man of the non-interfering and non-scolding class, the guest of his wife rather than her tyrant. The lodge was her precinct, the forest his. The woman takes down and puts up the lodge, cuts wood, cultivates the soil and cooks the meals. And common opinion made her out overtaxed and abused, but Schoolcraft shows how all this is modified by the facts in the case. She has plenty of time. She is not like a farmer's wife. She has no cows to milk, no butter or cheese to make, no flax to spin, no hens to set. She does not have to wash her children and comb their hair and get them ready for school every morning, and dress for church and for social gatherings. She has no books to read. If any sewing work, it is of the simplest sort and mostly of the gentle, pleasant bead-work. When a garment of skin or wool is once prepared and put on, it stays on and is worn until it wears out, hence she has no laundry work of consequence to do. In cooking, work is reduced to the minimum. Not much variety — no over-nicety or cleanliness, and not much washing of dishes. Putting up and taking down the lodge might be a labor, but oftentimes once put up it remains for months. Cutting the wood was not according to our picture of men clearing up a forest. Instead of a heavy ax the woman used a light hatchet and instead of cutting down trees, she usually handled only small limbs and twigs. And as for tilling the soil, a half acre often served for a generation, and the labor was not much more than a farmer's wife often has with her vegetable patch.

For nearly 20 years of the latter period of his life Mr. Schoolcraft resided in Washington, and died there in December, 1864. The Rev. Dr. Sunderland, for over 40 years a pastor in that city, in a personal letter I received from him a few years ago, thus spoke of him: "He was a noble Christian man, and his last years were spent in the society of his friends and among his books * * * a modest, retiring, unostentatious man, but deep, sincere piety and greatly interested in the welfare of mankind."

THE FIRST SETTLER of the charming valley of Taos, since the country was reconquered from the Indians, is said to have been a Spaniard named Pando, about the middle of the eighteenth century. This pioneer of the North, finding himself greatly exposed to the depredations of the Comanches, succeeded in gaining the friendship of that tribe, by promising his infant daughter, then a beautiful child, to one of the chiefs in marriage. But the unwilling maiden having subsequently refused to ratify the contract, the settlement was immediately attacked by the savages, and all were slain except the betrothed damsel who was led into captivity. After living some years with the Comanches on the great prairies she was bartered away to the Pawnees, of whom she was eventually purchased by a Frenchman of St. Louis. Some very respectable families in that city are descended from her; and there are many people yet living who remember with what affecting pathos the old lady was wont to tell her tale of woe. She died but a few years ago.— *Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies*, 1844.

JEAN GABRIEL CERRÉ; A SKETCH.

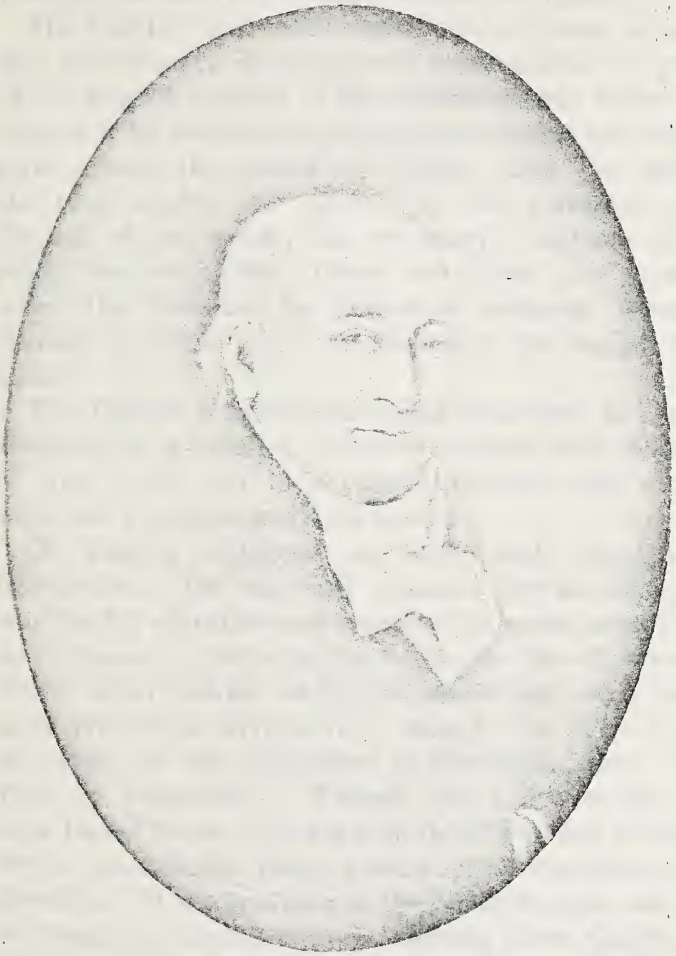
That portion of the life of Gabriel Cerré which was spent in the valley of the Mississippi covered the whole period of its shifting nationality. He came as a Frenchman to a French country. He here became by turns a British subject, a citizen of Virginia, a Spanish subject, a subject of the French Empire, and an American citizen.

He administered the laws as a Virginian judge, and made laws as a Spanish syndic.

Could the full story of his life be written it would be a document of surpassing interest. It would show a gallery of portraits such as is seldom brought together: Canadian *noblesse*, *voyageurs*, *coureurs du bois*, British generals and governors, Spanish dons, Virginian soldiers, American backwoodsmen, intermixed everywhere with Indians. The central figures of this portrait gallery would be, perhaps, George Rogers Clark, Daniel Boone, Saint Ange, and the great Ottawa chieftain Pontiac; heroic figures that would glorify any collection.

In addition to the portraits, the story would show scenes of mingled civilization and barbarism, such as will never again exist. French Canada would be shown in its bloom; Illinois with its line of French villages and the interminable wilderness of Indian haunted woods on every side; Missouri in its happy days, when its people in the villages of St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve and the few outlying settlements were the neglected children of the Spanish king, and thanked the saints for the neglect. We would see in Tennessee and Kentucky the daring explorers who spied out the land, and the eager swarm of commonwealth-builders who followed them; in Ohio and Indiana the wary bands of rival traders whose quarrels were the prelude to the contest that drove France from North America.

Unhappily, however, the story of the things that he saw and the things of which he was a part can never be written. A few personal anecdotes preserved in family



JEAN GABRIEL CERRÉ

tradition, and a few references to him in contemporary documents is all that remains.

Cerré was born at Montreal, 12 August, 1734. At that time Louis XV. was king, and the Marquis de Beauharnois was the Governor-General of Canada.

The country was then, nominally, at least, at peace. The government, observing with apprehension the growth of the English colonies to the southward, was endeavoring to meet it by encouraging agriculture, mining and manufactures among the people of Canada. But the spirit of the two peoples was unlike. To the Canadian youth the call of the woods, the waterways, and the distant plains was irresistible. Cerré was about nine years old when the brothers La Vérendrye returned from the journey in which they had discovered the Rocky Mountains.

The English colonists considered themselves as having a foothold in a country which was under the dominion of the devil, and they pushed forward only as they were able to subdue and hold the land.

Of Cerré's childhood and early youth we have no information. He was well educated for his time, but whether his education was obtained in Canada or in France is not known. Just when he began the life of adventure which lasted into his old age we cannot tell. It is known, however, that as early as 1755, when he was in his twenty-first year, he was established at Kaskaskia, that "little Paris in wilderness." Though but a few weeks older than Daniel Boone, Cerré was in the Mississippi Valley for twelve years before Boone made his first expedition in this direction. It is a tradition in the family that he was back in Canada and took part in the fighting about Quebec just prior to its surrender; whether or not this is well-founded it is impossible to determine.

A story of one of Cerré's adventures related by the late Gurdon Hubbard is without date, but the incident probably occurred prior to 1765. It is as follows: —

"*Isle la Cache* (in the river Desplaines) took its name from a circumstance in the life of Mr. Cerré,[1] a trader, who, when on his way with loaded canoes from Montreal to St. Louis [Kaskaskia] with goods for the Indian trade on the Ohio river, camped at this point.

A band of Indians demanded of him some of his goods as a tribute for the privilege of passing down the river; this was refused. The Indians then returned to their village, a short distance below, held a council, and determined to stop his canoes as he passed their village, and take by force what he had refused to give. Some of them, however, opposed this robbery, and one of the band reported the action of the council to Mr. Cerré.

The night was dark and misty, and Mr. Cerré determined to pass if possible by strategy, but to fight rather than accede to their demands. Fearing that he might be overcome by numbers and thus lose his goods, and in order to lighten his canoes, so that he could pass rapidly over the shoal places in the river, he ordered the most valuable portion of his goods removed to a grove, about a mile distant on the prairie, and there hid them in holes dug in the ground (*caches*), removing the surplus earth to a distance, and carefully smoothing over the spot, so that no trace of the hiding place could be seen. He then armed his men with guns, tomahawks and knives, and at daybreak started on his way down the river.

Stopping at the village, he stationed his men so as to guard the canoes, and then called on the Indians for a talk, which was granted; he told them that he should defend his goods; that the Great Father, the French King, had given him permission to go to the Ohio River, and showed them a parchment ornamented with ribbons and large red seals; he said to them 'here is my evidence, the King has made this writing, and it tells you that I must not be stopped or disturbed in passing through the nations of his red children, if any harm shall come to me he will revenge

[1] Mr. Hubbard spells the name Sara.

it by sending an army to destroy them and take possession of their country.' This speech and demonstration had the desired effect, and the Indians were glad to excuse themselves; they, however, said that they were poor and needed clothing and tobacco; that they had no powder and but few guns, and were preparing to send a delegation to St. Louis to see their Great Father's captain to state their condition and make known their wants.

"Mr. Cerré replied that he was authorized to give them a present from their Great Father, and that he should have done so but for their demand and threat, but as they had repented he would now give it to them, whereupon he handed them a small bale, which he had previously prepared for that purpose and ornamented with ribbons and sealing wax. The bale contained a few pieces of calico, powder and shot, tobacco, and flints and steel for striking fire, which delighted them exceedingly. He then said to them, 'You see my canoes are light; I have but little in them, but when I camped last night you saw them heavily loaded. I had a dream; the Spirit told me you held a council and determined to rob me when I passed your village this morning; that is why you see my men with guns, tomahawks and knives, with which to defend themselves; we did not fear you, though there are many of you and we are but few; we are now friends, and I want you to help us; go with my men, take your pack horses and bring the goods I have left behind and help us down the river with our boats until we reach the deep water below the shoals, when I will give you another bale of goods in token of my friendship and bid you farewell.' To this they consented; the goods were removed from their hiding-place and transported on horses to the confluence of the Desplaines and Kankakee Rivers, and again loaded in the canoes."

Mr. Hubbard is in error as to "the Great Father's captain" being at St. Louis, he was at Fort Chartres; when the captain (St. Ange) went to St. Louis in October,

1765, the French king had become powerless and landless in America.

In 1764, Mr. Cerré married at Kaskaskia, Catherine Giard, a native of that town.

The claim of the Giards to be of the "first families" of Illinois could not be disputed, as there is record evidence that they were established there in 1729; the date of their arrival is not known.

Mr. Cerré's marriage, and the coming of his little family, though he was devoted to his wife and children, did not cause him to abandon the life upon which he had entered, and become a villager.

A story is told which illustrates the wifely faith of Madame Cerré, and the sure foundation she had for such faith. Mr. Cerré, leaving his home to make the long and perilous journey to Montreal, promised his wife that he would return in time to join with her in the festivities of the new year. The *jour de l'an* drew nearer and nearer and nothing was heard from him. Friends offered condolences, and hinted at things not to be spoken of to her, but Madame Cerré was unmoved, Mr. Cerré had given her his promise; and as to the dangers to be encountered, what were wild beasts or wilder men as against Gabriel Cerré? Her trust was justified. Almost at the last hour Mr. Cerré returned, alone. Pursuing their homeward journey by way of the Maumee portage and the Wabash River, his party had been delayed by the accidents of travel. Leaving his men to follow with their burdens, Mr. Cerré made his way unaccompanied across the wintry wastes that lay between the Wabash and Kaskaskia. He traveled upon snow shoes and dragged behind him a sled loaded with presents for his family and friends.

The winter of 1776 and 1777 he spent among the Indians. In the Canadian Archives there is a paper containing a "declaration Sieur Gabriel Cerré," which has been translated and printed thus:—

"having been among the peorias on the River of the

Illinois, the above name stated that last Winter, having been wintering with the Kickapoos and Mascoutens, at a place called the bad land, there arrived there two savages, Kickapoos, and that these went to a person called 'fair weather,' likewise chief of the said savages of the village of the Raven on the River of the Illinois, to engage him to send hither these young men in response to my invitation. To which message the before mentioned 'fair weather' replied that he would not stir; that he had been the Winter before at St. Louis to the Spaniard to drink there and to see his father the Spaniard, who had before promised him a medal, a chief's coat, a hat, etc.; that the Commandant showed him all these articles, but told him he would not give them to him until the Commander sent word; that he thought the time of the arrival of the message from the Sea would be about the time of grass; adding that he would not tell him the contents because it was yet a secret known only to him; that the inhabitants of St. Louis were ignorant of it, but that as soon as their father had awakened from his sleepiness he would make it known to them, and would be prompt with his word, and would give them what he had promised; advising them not to mix themselves with the troubles of the bostonians with the english." [1]

This "declaration" was made by Mr. Cerré to Rocheblave, the British Commandant at Fort Gage, 29 April, 1777.

In view of the traditional *mañana* policy of the Spaniards, it may well be that the secret of the commandant was the project of the expedition from St. Louis across Illinois to St. Joseph, which was successfully made under the leadership of Don Eugenio Pourré (Beausoliel) nearly four years later.

It was Cerré's fortune, only a little more than a year after his declaration, to find himself seriously mixed in the troubles of the "Bostonais" with the British. George

[1] IV Chicago Historical Society's Collections, p. 389.

Rogers Clark, telling in his journal the story of the taking of Kaskaskia, July, 1778, says: "Several particular persons were sent for in course of the night, for information, etc., but we got very little beyond what we already knew, except from the conduct of several persons then in town, there was reason to suppose they were inclined to the American interest; that a great number of Indians had been, and was then, in the neighborhood of Kahokia, sixty miles from this; that a Mr. Cerré, a principal merchant, one of the most inveterate enemies we had, left the place a few days past with a large quantity of furs for Michili Mackinac, from thence to Quebec, from whence he had lately arrived; that he was then in St. Louis, the Spanish Capital; that his lady and family were then in town with a very considerable quantity of goods, etc. I immediately suspected what these informers aimed at — that of making their peace with me at the expense of their neighbors. My situation required too much caution to give them much satisfaction. I found that Mr. Cerré was one of the most eminent men in the country, of great influence among the people. I had some suspicion that his accusers were probably in debt to him and wished to ruin him; but, from observations I had made, from what I had heard of him, he became an object of consequence to me; that perhaps he might be wavering in his opinion respecting the contest, that if he should take a decisive part in our favor, he might be a valuable acquisition. In short, his enemies caused me much to wish to see him, and as he was then out of my power. I made no doubt of bringing it about through the means of his family, having them in my power. I had a guard immediately placed at his house, his stores sealed, etc., as well as all others, making no doubt but that when he heard of this he would be extremely anxious to get an interview. * * *

"Mr. Cerré * * * [who] was yet in St. Louis, and preparing to prosecute his journey to Canada, was stopped in consequence of the information. After learning the

situation of things, agreeable to my expectations, he resolved to return; but learning that there was a guard kept at his house and at no other, and that several had attempted to ruin him by their information to me, as you were advised (he thought it best), not to venture over without a safe conduct, so he applied to the Spanish Governor for a letter to that purpose, and came to Ste. Genevieve, opposite to Kaskaskia, and got another from the Commandant at that post, and sent them to me; but all the interest he could make through the Spanish officers, and the solicitations of his particular friends, which I found to be a great majority of the people, could not procure him a safe conduct. I absolutely denied it, and hinted that I wished to hear no more on the subject; neither would I hear any person that had anything to say in vindication of him, informing them that I understood that Mr. Cerré was a sensible man; that if he was innocent of the allegations against him he would not be afraid of delivering himself up; that his backwardness seems to prove his guilt; that I cared very little about him. I suppose a rumor immediately gave him this information. In a few hours he came over, and before visiting his family presented himself before me. I told him that I supposed that he was fully sensible of the charges that were exhibited against him, particularly that of inciting the Indians to murder etc., — a crime that ought to be punished by all people that should be so fortunate as to get that person in their power; that his late backwardness almost confirmed me in his guilt. He replied that he was a mere merchant; that he never concerned himself about state affairs further than the interest of his trade required; that he had, as yet, no opportunity so fully to acquaint himself with the principles of the present contest as to enable him finally to settle his own opinion to his satisfaction; that his being generally so far detached from the seat of affairs that he was always doubtful of his only hearing one side of the question; that he had learned more in a few days past than he ever before knew; that it only con-

firmed his former suspicion. I read him part of a letter from Governor Hamilton of Detroit to Mr. Rochblave, wherein he was alluded to with much affection. He said that when he was there he behaved himself as became a subject; that he defied any man to prove that he ever encouraged an Indian to war; that many had often heard him disapprove the cruelty of such proceedings; that there was a number in town that was much in debt to him — perhaps the object of some of them was to get clear of it by ruining him; that it would be inconsistent for him, in his present situation, to offer to declare his present sentiments respecting the war, but wished to stand every test, as that of encouraging the Indians is what he ever detested. He excused his fearing coming over the Mississippi as soon as he could have wished. I told him to retire into another room, without making him any further reply.

"The whole town was anxious to know the fate of Mr. Cerré. I sent for his accusers, — a great number following them — and had Mr. Cerré called. I plainly saw the confusion his appearance made among them. I opened the case to the whole — told them that I never chose to condemn a man unheard; that Cerré was now present; that I was ready to do justice to the world in general, by the punishment of Mr. Cerré, if he was found guilty of encouraging murder, or acquit him if innocent of the charge that they would give in their information. Cerré began to speak to them, but was ordered to desist. His accusers began to whisper to each other, and retire for private conversation; at length but one of six or seven was left in the room. I asked him what he had to say to the point in question. In fact I found that none of them had anything to say to the purpose. I gave them a suitable reprimand, and after some general conversation I informed Mr. Cerré that I was happy to find that he had so honorably acquitted himself of so black a charge; that he was now at liberty to dispose of himself and prop-

erty as he pleased. If he chose to become a citizen of the Union, that it would give us pleasure; if not, he was at full liberty to dispose of himself. He made many acknowledgements, and concluded by saying that many doubts that he had had were now cleared up to his satisfaction, and that now he wished to take the oath immediately. In short, he became a most valuable man to us. As simple as this may appear, it had great weight with the people, and was of infinite service to us, everything in this quarter having a most promising appearance."

The fact that Colonel Clark devoted nearly a twenty-fifth part of his memoir (which gives not only an account of his expedition to and capture of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, but also of the Indian troubles in Kentucky) to his experience with Mr. Cerré, shows that he must have considered the acquisition of Cerré's good will to have been of the greatest importance. Cerré was also appealed to by the other side. In October of that year, Governor Hamilton, afterwards captured by Clark at Vincennes, wrote to General Haldimand "that Mr. Montforton, late of Michilimackinac, had done what was in his power to open the eyes of the French people at the Illinois, who have lately taken the Rebels by the hand, by a letter written to Mr. Cerré, of Kaskasquias." Hamilton adds that for this good act, Montforton should be compensated by the British government of Canada.

The Virginia Commandant, Colonel John Todd, caused polls to be opened for the election of magistrates by the people, and of the judges elected, Mr. Cerré headed the list. A letter from Colonel Todd to these judges will, perhaps, justify the belief that they did not observe the ancient maxim, "*boni judicio est ampliare jurisdictionem.*" The letter reads: —

"To Gabriel Cerré &c., Esqrs. Judges of the Court for the District of Kaskaskia.

"You are hereby authorized and required to hold and

constitute a court on Satterday, the 21st, of July, at the Usiall place of Holding Court, within yr district, any adjournment to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided that no suitor or partey be compeled to answare any prosess upon said unless properly sumoned by the Clark & Shirriff.

"Given under my hand and seal at Kaskaskia,

JOHN TODD."

But it was not for Mr. Cerré to play the part of a justice.[1]

Long before this time he had turned his face to the westward. The earliest hunters in the Missouri River country, aside from an occasional party of adventurers, were men sent by Cerré from Kaskaskia.

"Note this," says Scharff, "of the founding of New Madrid by Cerré, from the narrative of Godfrey Lesueur, whose father François, with Joseph, a brother, started

[1] The following questions propounded by a Committee of Congress, in July, 1786, to Mr. Cerré, and his answers thereto, constitute perhaps the best source of information as to the conditions prevailing in "the Illinois" subsequent to Clark's conquest: —

"Mr. Cerré will please to answer the following inquiries:

1. Were the people of the Illinois heretofore governed by the laws of Canada, or by usages and customs of their own, or partly by one and partly by the other?

2. By what tribunals or judges was criminal and civil justice heretofore administered in that district?

3. By what laws or usages and by what judges is criminal and civil justice dispensed at this time?

4. In what mode and in what quantities were grants of land heretofore made to individual settlers?

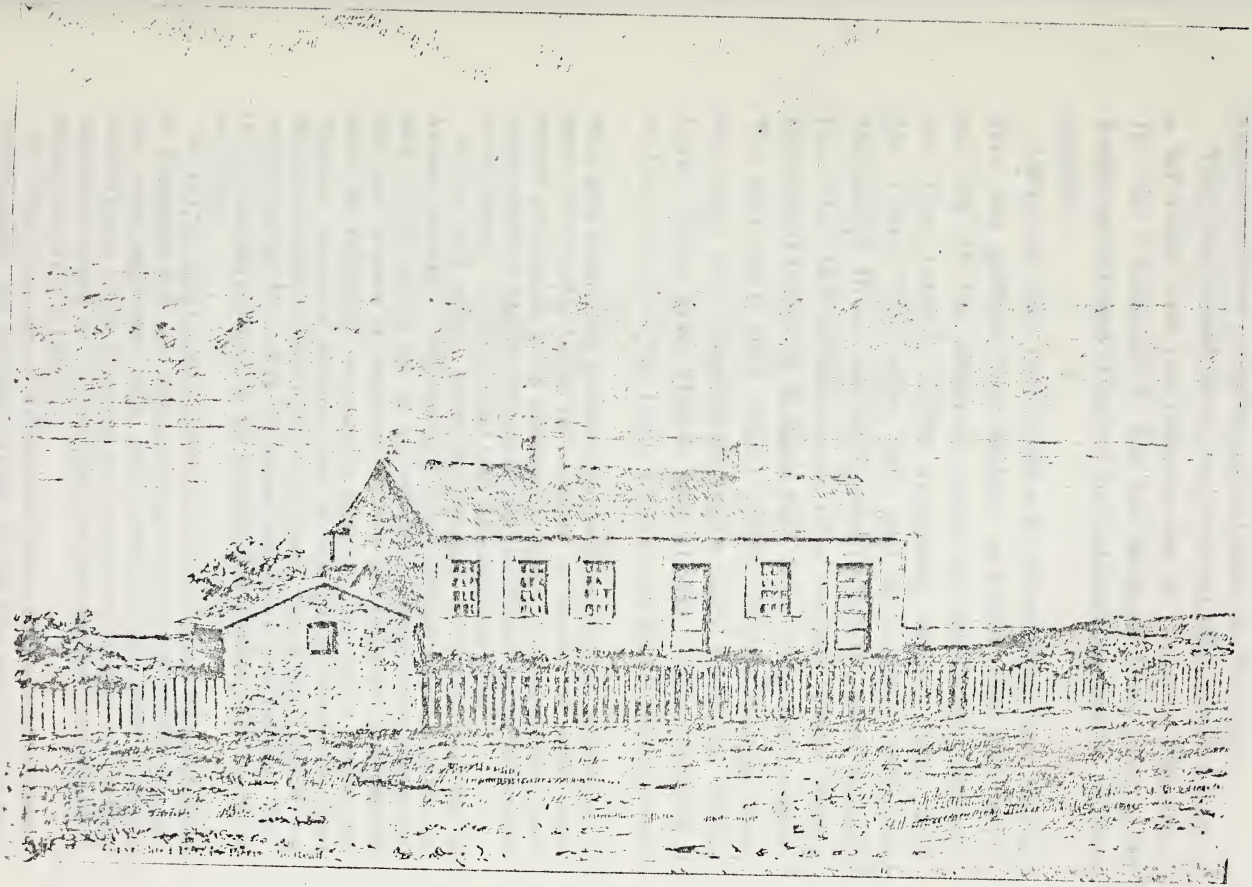
5. To what extent is the whole district appropriated by grants?

6. To what extent is the tract or tracts granted to the settlers in common for religious or other uses?

7. What is the computed number of inhabitants in the whole Illinois district, and what proportion of them were slaves?

Answers to the queries:

1st. The people of the Illinois were governed before the conquest of Canada by the same laws as the people of Canada, which were of the same nature as those of old France, adapted to the particular circumstances of the country. They had local customs which were equally binding as the laws, and after the conquest the British commandants



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CERRÉ HOUSE, N. E. CORNER MAIN AND VINE STREETS. (FRONT VIEW.)

away in youth from Trois Rivières, Canada, and found themselves, two penniless adventurers, in St. Louis.

They sought and found employment with Gabriel Cerré, a fur trader and the father-in-law of Auguste Chouteau. He was a Kaskaskian, but his business took him to St. Louis, as did that of all of the enterprising people of that section.

Cerré set the two youths to classifying and baling furs and peltries for market, and this one fact gives an idea of the extensive scale on which the business was then carried. After remaining about a year with Mr. Cerré, they were both sent in a canoe down the Mississippi River, and instructed to find the most suitable place for the establishment of a trading house among the several tribes of Indians then inhabiting the country. The first place they found which afforded the greatest advantage and inducements was a large Delaware Indian town, where New Madrid now stands. There were also on the margin of the Louis Prairie and Big Prairie, several

were civil judges who governed by the same laws and customs as the people lived under before the conquest of Canada; all public transactions and records being recorded in French by Notaries Public, and orders issued in English were translated into French for the information of the country. Criminal cases were referred to England.

2d. In civil causes, before the conquest of Canada, there was an Attorney General — *Procureur du Roi* who gave sentence in all cases that were brought before him by his own personal decision, in trifling matters, but in cases of importance it was customary for each party to name two arbitrators, the Attorney General a fifth, and he ratified their sentence. An appeal might be made to New Orleans where there was a Superior Judicature, called *counsel superieur*. The criminal causes were referred to and decided by this *counsel superieur* at New Orleans. During the British government the commandants decided justice as in the 1st article.

3d. In 1779, when Colonel Todd went into that country the people chose six magistrates to govern them according to the old French laws and customs, which magistrates were empowered by Colonel Todd to judge in criminal cases. After the troops were withdrawn the power of the magistrates was annihiliated and everything fell into anarchy and confusion — the state of affairs at this time.

4th. Before the conquest of Canada the French commandants had power to make grants, and did grant to every person who petitioned, as much land as the petitioner chose to ask for, on condition of cultivating part

other large Indian villages. They quickly returned to St. Louis and reported to Mr. Cerré all they had seen, portraying to him the results that would, in their opinion, be derived from starting a house at the place mentioned. The year following they were sent by Mr. Cerré to build a house, and taking with them a lot of goods suitable to the Indian trade, were successful beyond their expectations, making large collections of furs and peltries. In a few years competition reduced the profits, whereupon Cerré sent them to build a house at some other point."[1]

The establishment of Cerré's trading house by the Lesueurs was, according to the best authorities, in 1780. The place was first called *l'Anse-a-la-graisse*. It was not until the coming of Colonel George Morgan's Colony, in 1787, that it received the name of New Madrid.

In 1781, Mr. Cerré employed James Moore to take goods and trade with the Indians in Tennessee. The headquarters of this trade was at the French Lick, on the Cumberland, the site of the present city of Nashville. This was probably a country familiar to Mr. Cerré, the Kaskaskia

of the same within a year. The English followed the same mode. If the land was not cultivated as above it returned to the King's *demesnes*.

5th. The question is very difficult and not in Mr. Cerré's power to answer, but great quantities have been granted.

6th. A large quantity of land was reserved in the neighborhood of the towns for commons, and a very small portion for religious uses, and none for other purposes.

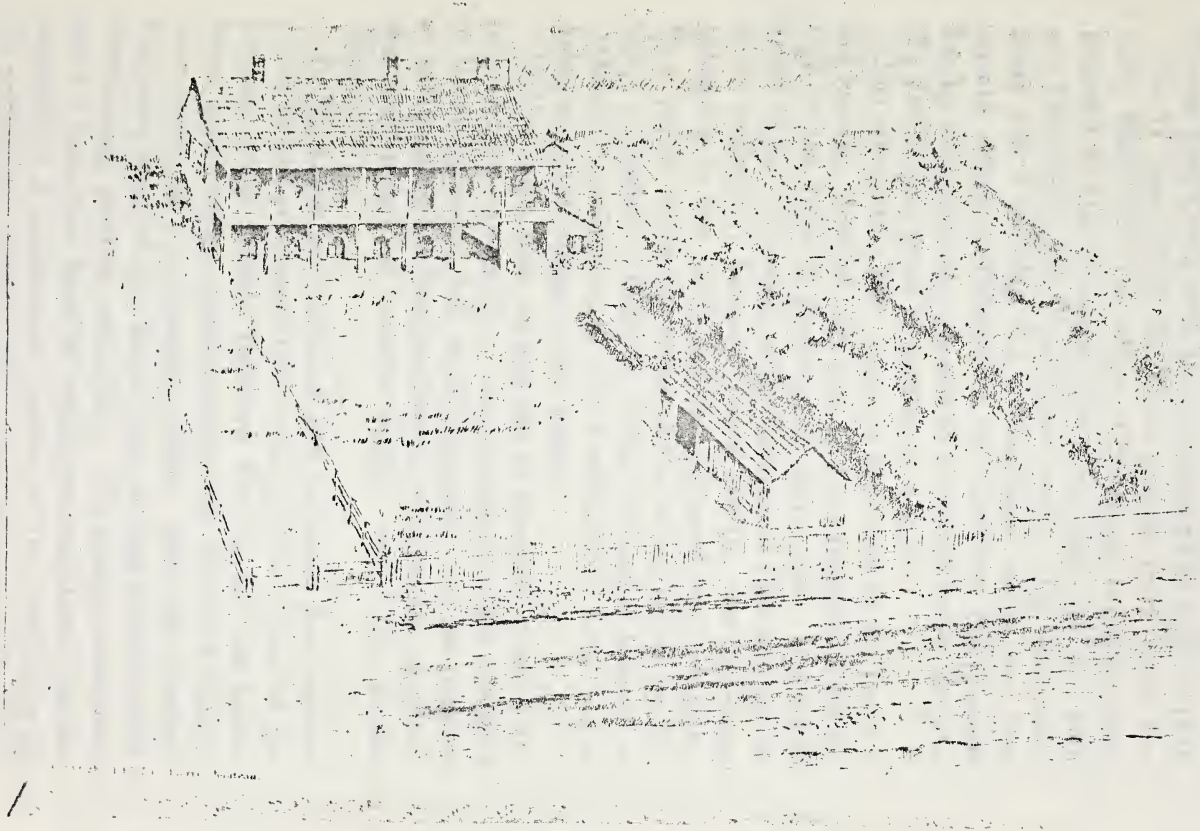
7th. There may be in the towns on the Mississippi about 300 white inhabitants, including American settlers who may number about 50. There are moreover about 250 slaves. So that according to Mr. Cerré the population of the Illinois amounts to 550 or 600 souls, but he does not appear to be well acquainted with their numbers."

Mr. Cerré's answers were given in French, and were referred to John Pintard for translation.

The document is to be found in the State Department (Washington City) Mss., Vol. 48, p. 49.

It may be here mentioned that the Kaskaskia church records show the burial of "*Marie-Louise, esclave Sauvage, appartenant au Sr. Cerré,*" and "*un negre au Sieur Cerré age d'environ 19 ans.*"

[1] Scharff History of St. Louis, 287.



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CERRÉ HOUSE, N. E. CORNER MAIN AND VINE STREETS. (REAR VIEW.)

trade with the Tennessee Indians having begun early in the century. Mr. Charleville had a store near the junction of French Lick Creek with the Cumberland as early as 1714.

On 17 June, 1779, Mr. Cerré bought from Louis Perrault, Block 13 of the village of St. Louis, being the block bounded by the Mississippi River and what are now Main and Vine streets and Washington avenue. On this ground there was a dwelling and a warehouse, which had been erected either by Perrault or by Labuxiere, the property having been originally granted to the latter by St. Ange — the first formal grant of land in St. Louis.

Just when Mr. Cerré removed his home to St. Louis is not known. Scharff says that he was a resident of the village at the time of the *coup*, 26 May, 1780. In 1781 he acted as an arbitrator, at the instance of Charles Gratiot, in a controversy between Gratiot and the crew of a barge belonging to him which had been captured by the Indians. In a paper in the possession of the writer, signed by Mr. Cerré and dated 10 October, 1782, he describes himself as "Gabriel Cerré *vecino de este Pueblo de Sn Luis*" — inhabitant of this village of St. Louis.

In the same year he was one of the eight *Sindics* appointed by the assembly of the inhabitants which was held in the Government hall on 22 September, for the purpose of establishing fixed and unalterable rules for the construction and repair of streets, bridges and drains of the village.

At St. Louis he continued and increased the business which he had prosecuted for so many years. Some of his kinsmen from Canada followed him to his new home. Some of his wife's people crossed the river and took up their abode in the Spanish village. His two younger daughters married St. Louis men of high character and commanding position and ability. His family connections and his numerous band of employees constituted him the patriarch of a considerable portion of the inhabitants of the settlement, and gave him a great influence in the management of its affairs. In addition to his house in the vil-

lage, in Block 13, he had a grant of a large tract south of the village, which he improved with a house, garden, orchard and fields and used as a country place. The house stood on the east side of what is now Broadway near Soulard street.

Of the many grants obtained by Mr. Cerré the following specimen may not be without interest. I quote from a translation by Mr. Julius De Mun: —

"*To Don Charles Dehault Delassus, Lieutenant-Colonel, attached to the stationary regiment of Louisiana, and Lieutenant-Governor of the upper part of the same province:*

Gabriel Cerré, father of a family, owner of slaves, and one of the most ancient inhabitants of this country, has the honor to supplicate you to have the goodness to grant to him, to the north of this town, on the *Ruisseau de Pierre* (Stony Creek), an augmentation of three hundred arpens of land in superficie to a tract of land he purchased several years ago, so as to give him the enjoyment of a spring, the owning of which he thinks very important, according to his views of improvement. The said augmentation to be bounded as follows: On the north, by the line of the land I purchased, the title of which, with the ratification in form, has been delivered to me; on the south and east by the lines of Mr. Labeaume's land, and on the west by the vacant lands of the domain. The petitioner hopes so much the more to obtain the favor which he claims of your justice, because the public road passes now on his first piece of land through a hilly and difficult place for carting, and that he intends, as soon as he obtains the augmentation solicited, to make the said road pass in a more suitable place; but this will require the construction of a bridge, which he shall cause to be built immediately over the said creek. The petitioner, full of confidence in your justice, hopes that you will be pleased to do justice in such a manner as to fulfill his views.

CERRÉ.

St. Louis, January 3, 1800.

"St. Louis of Illinois, January 3, 1800.

Considering the petitioner is one of the most ancient inhabitants of this country, whose known conduct and personal merit are recommendable, and being satisfied as to the truth of what he states in his petition, the surveyor of this upper Louisiana, Don Antonio Soulard, shall put the interested (party) in possession of three hundred arpens in superficie, which he solicits, for him to enjoy the same under the boundaries that he asks; and the survey being executed, he (the surveyor) shall make out the corresponding certificate of the same, with which the interested party shall apply to the Intendency General of these provinces, to which alone corresponds, by order of his Majesty, the granting of lands and town lots belonging to the domain.

Carlos Dehault Delassus."

In addition to his trade and his planting, Mr. Cerré had a stock farm on the Meramec, and besides acted frequently as guardian for young persons, and as *negociant* or attorney-in-fact for non-residents of the village.

In 1788, he represented Colonel Maxent in the settlement of the affairs of Maxent, Laclede & Co.

His visits to Canada were frequent. A letter from Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, the then Governor of Louisiana, which is still preserved in the family, refers to one of them. A translation of this letter from the French original is as follows: —

"New Orleans, April 25, 1798.

"Sir: Your letter of the 7th of last March has been delivered to me. Yes, sir, it is with pleasure that I have learnt by the letter which you have written to Mr. Zenon Trudeau, on the subject of your journey to Canada, which letter has been forwarded to me, that you had returned to St. Louis. No one better than myself can feel how many

inconveniences you must have experienced in this journey, and how many difficulties you had to surmount, and that it required nothing less than your intelligence and knowledge, your activity, firmness and courage, to extricate you from the embarrassments into which your zeal for the service of the King, and your attachment to our Government, precipitated you.

Penetrated with this conviction, and knowing how to appreciate your merit, your uncommon disinterestedness, and the services which you have rendered, and which, I am persuaded, you will always be disposed to render to the King, you will find me at all times ready to seize the occasion of testifying to you how much I do desire to be of some utility to you, and making it available in case of need.

With respect to the affair between you and Mr. Lorimier, of which a statement has been submitted to me by Mr. Zenon Trudeau, it is with very sensible pain that I see myself compelled to announce to you that my judgment upon it will not be, perhaps, exactly conformable to your wishes. The immutable principles of justice, whatever may be the interest I take in you in my inward thoughts, do not permit me to pronounce a decision different from that which will be officially communicated to you by the Lieutenant Governor, Don Zenon Trudeau. You have too sound an understanding, and too much discernment, not to comprehend that a public man ought never to suffer his affections or his feelings of private friendship, to make him deviate from the path which his reason points to him as that of equity and impartiality. On all other occasions put my friendship to the test, and reckon on the attachment of him who has the honor to be, with all the consideration which is due to you on so many accounts,

Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS.

Monsieur Gabriel Cerré."

A subsequent visit to Canada is spoken of in the testimony in support of the petition for confirmation of the grant of the land on Stony Brook, spoken of above: —

"Pascal L. Cerré duly sworn, says that Gabriel Cerré was his father; that he knows the conditions of said grant to have been, on the part of his father, to build a bridge on the *Ruisseau de Pierre;* that his said father having gone to Canada previous to Delassus's signing the grant, he, the deponent, remained charged with his business in this country, when Delassus, who had not yet signed the grant, hurried him to go on with the bridge, but the deponent would not do it until the grant was signed; which Delassus having done, he sent his hands immediately to work, having already all the materials on the spot, and soon completed the bridge."

This was in 1800, or later.

On the 21st of July of that same year, Madame Cerre died. She was buried, according to the directions of her will "*en la yglesia de esta villa*" — in the church of this village, — but, perhaps, not "*con la mayor humilidad,*" as she also enjoined.

Her husband survived her five years. It was permitted to him to live again, though but for one day, under the flag of his own country. He saw that flag go down for the last time in North America, and the flag of that power, from which he had retreated but which had followed him, rise to forever occupy its place. The New France which, in his early manhood, it was believed would grow to be the right arm of the old, had long been but a memory. Yet old recollections must have been wakened and old regrets become more poignant, to see a new and alien nation, of less than half his years, advance and take from his own land an empire which she had so recently regained. With what grace he acquiesced in this last change we cannot tell. He lived less than a year and a month after the transfer of the country, dying on 4 April, 1805.

His active business life of fifty years as a merchant in the fur trade had produced what was at that time a handsome fortune. His adherence to correct principles and his accurate judgment of men and things, based upon great native ability, a well instructed mind and an experience such as falls to the lot of few men, had won for him the respect and admiration of all who knew him. His courtesy, his humor and unfailing kindness of heart, his active benevolence to those who made up his family circle — for these things he was loved during his life and sincerely mourned at his death.

At the last meeting of the Missouri Historical Society a portrait of Prince Henry of Prussia, his own gift to the Society, was formally presented by Dr. Rieloff, Imperial German Consul. To Dr. Rieloff's very graceful address of presentation an appropriate response was made on behalf of the Society by the Hon. Edward C. Kehr.

At the same meeting a portrait of the late Oliver D. Filley, formerly Mayor of St. Louis, was presented by the Hon. Charles P. Johnson, on behalf of Mr. Filley's children. Gov. Johnson's address, with a half-tone reproduction of the portrait, will appear in a later issue of the Collections. A number of other much desired portraits have been promised to the Society.

The Library has recently been increased by the gift, from a member to whom the Society is already under great obligations, of a set of the Jesuit Relations, edited by Mr. Thwaites. The Library has lately received many other valuable contributions.

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THE SOCIETY DISCLAIMS RESPONSIBILITY FOR VIEWS EXPRESSED BY CONTRIBUTORS.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF GENERAL GRANT.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Missouri Historical Society:

In compliance with the request with which the President of our Society has honored me, I gather up, from memory mainly, the few instances of my life which brought me in contact, directly and indirectly, with General Grant. Insignificant as they may seem, they throw a sidelight, nevertheless, upon his early struggles, upon the environments among which he lived, and upon the patient, plodding character of the man.

Our daily lives are made up of small events. When our life work is done, and a retrospective view of it is taken, then small events sometimes show themselves to have been important factors in its make-up and its final trend. This holds good with great men as well as with the average man, and historians everywhere have picked up apparently insignificant details in the early lives of their subjects to show the formative influence which these details had upon their future greatness. Some of these small events relating to General Grant which I have been privileged to witness, and which in retrospect seem to me now to have more historical significance than when they actually occurred, I will

hesitatingly relate to you, with some of the local color which belongs to them.

I lived in Carondelet, a small city a few miles below St. Louis, from 1850 to 1863. It was then a municipality of old French-Canadian origin, but has long since been absorbed into the City of St. Louis and forms now one of its most populous districts.

In 1852 I became Mayor of the City of Carondelet. One of my first official acts was to direct the hitherto neglected defense, in the U. S. Land Commissioner's office in Washington, against the claim of Col. F. Dent, for the possession, under an old Spanish grant, of a large portion of the Carondelet Commons which had been set aside by the old village trustees for school purposes. Mr. Barrett, an able lawyer and ex-member of Congress from St. Louis, and the late Judge Wilson Primm, were selected to represent the Carondelet side of the case. The claim was finally decided, two years after my administration, against Dent. He had tried very hard to get me to abandon the suit, and never forgave me for insisting upon it. He was a gentleman of considerable energy, masterful in his ways, of persistent combativeness, of the grim, set purpose peculiar to the Southerners of the old generation, and was, where foiled, inclined to be vindictive. He owned a large farm, called New Haven, well stocked with slaves, a few miles below Carondelet. He was General Grant's father-in-law.

Much gossip was prevalent at the time of which I speak, regarding troubles between the Dents and some of their neighbors which would have no place here except in so far as it throws a sidelight on the surroundings into which General Grant stepped upon his marriage, and in so far as it may have influenced his desire of getting away from the dependency upon his father-in-law.

Adjoining the Dent farm was the farm of "Colonels" William and John Sigerson, both men of wealth and importance. Theirs was mainly a nursery farm worked by white hands. They were Southerners, but pronounced

Union men. There were continued feuds and quarrels between the Dents and the Sigersons. Though I was quite intimate with the latter, I never could find out what was at the bottom of this mutual hostility. One night all the haystacks and some outhouses of the Sigersons were burned down. Busy tongues at once connected this incident with the well-known bad feeling existing between the two neighbors, and spread the rumor that the stacks had been set on fire by the Dents. This rumor had, of course, not the slightest foundation. The Dents, whatever their animosity might have been, were highly respectable gentlefolks and above doing a mean thing. But the rumor must have reached them, and they attributed its origin to the Sigersons. One morning young Fred Dent, son-in-law of Mr. Shurlds, then cashier of the old Bank of the State of Missouri, appeared in the streets of Carondelet with a shotgun hunting for Sigerson. I became aware of it only when, that morning, William Sigerson rushed excitedly into my office and asked whether I could let him have a gun or a pistol. "That fellow Dent," he said, "is after me, and I want to be ready for him." Although I had a pistol, fearing trouble I said that I had neither, and before I could say a quieting word to him Sigerson rushed out again. I ran after him to the door, and, looking round, saw a crowd a square below, where the two, Sigerson and Dent, had clinched, — Dent down, and Sigerson beating his head with a club. Soon afterwards Dent was carried to my office, where I found that his scalp was seriously injured by deep and wide cuts. After superficial dressing I took him in my buggy to his fatherin-in-law's residence, which was situated on the Carondelet Road, now South Broadway, near where the city workhouse is now standing. After hovering between life and death for some time he finally recovered. He afterwards went to California, where he obtained some eminence and later served, as I was informed, in the civil war as a Union soldier, with a fine record. I mention this incident with the others only as indicating the temper and characteristics

of the family in the midst of which General Grant's lot was cast.

Though we saw each other often and knew each other very well, as men in small communities do even when there is no occasion for personal contact, I never had occasion, beyond our bowing to each other, to speak to General Grant until after he was President, upon matters which will be mentioned later. I saw him frequently haul many of the now historical carts of cord wood for sale in St. Louis from his father-in-law's farm, past my home and office. There was a blacksmith's shop opposite me, and I can see him now as he then appeared, sitting on a log in front of the shop, — a serious, dignified looking man, with slouched hat, high boots, and trousers tucked in, smoking a clay pipe and waiting for his horses to be shod.

Nor did I ever set foot on the Dent farm, although all the neighbors around it — the Longs, the Sappingtons, the Paddelfords, etc, — were my close friends, whom I frequently visited. The old gentleman did not feel kindly toward me on account of the land suit above mentioned, and because I was a pronounced Republican and Union man. I always at that time had the impression that this feeling — meaning the political one — had been shared by Grant. In this, as future events have shown, I was mistaken.

The only member of the Grant family with whom I was intimate was William Barnard, whose wife was a sister of Mrs. Grant. The Barnard residence was situated in a large plot of ground facing the Stringtown Road, on what is now the corner of Merrimac street and Virginia avenue. It is still standing, though now surrounded by inferior buildings. Barnard was a wholesale druggist, an amiable, jovial man, very fond of hunting, and his yard and garden were filled with wooden and cast iron effigies of stags, deer, and hunting dogs. He was too fond of good living to succeed in business, and failed early during the war.

Grant, during his presidency, made him Bank Examiner for Missouri, under the National Banking law.

At the Barnard home I met Mrs. Grant frequently when she made some of her prolonged visits to her sister, and occasionally was called to attend to her children. Both Mrs. Grant and Mrs. Barnard were charming, cultivated ladies, devoted to their husbands and children. A family physician gets to hear much that is kept from the general public, and the, to say the least, dependent position which Grant occupied in the house of his father-in-law was frequently commented upon in my presence. That he chafed under this condition of things was evident from his desire to obtain a position that would make him more independent. His efforts in that direction made me an unconscious factor in his destiny, as he later on acknowledged, under the following circumstances: —

Early in 1859 a serious defalcation in the St. Louis County Court came to the surface. Its President, Judge Hackney, decamped to California with over $300,000.00 of the county's money, leaving its treasury almost empty. Great corruption was found to exist, and the Legislature, then in session, was appealed to to apply a remedy. There having been no legal way to oust the members of that court, except by the slow process of impeachment, the Legislature adopted the radical method of abolishing the court altogether and creating in its stead a board of five County Commissioners, with the same powers and official functions which the old court possessed. The Legislature was Democratic and pro-slavery, and the five districts, each of which had to elect one member, were so laid out by it as to insure the Commissioners so elected to be of the same political faith. But the result was different; three districts out of five went Republican, and I was elected to represent one of the three. It was the first dawn of pronounced Union sentiment in Missouri.

In the month of August of that year Grant filed his application, addressed to the St. Louis County Commissioners, for the position of Superintendent of County

Roads,[1] a modest place with a yearly salary of fifteen hundred dollars. This application has become historical; its original, which still exists in the archives of the court, has frequently been published in facsimile. Nobody at that time dreamt that history would concern itself about it or the applicant. It was referred, as were all others, to the member in whose district the applicant resided, and it fell therefore to my lot to report upon it. It stands in evidence of Grant's dignified pride that, hard pressed as he was at the time, he never called either on me or on any one of my colleagues in support of his application. Many strong letters from prominent people of both parties, recommending him, came to me. My old and life-long friend, Henry T. Blow,[2] an ardent Union man, urged me personally to recommend and support Grant for the position. Much stress was laid on his needs, — his character and qualifications not being questioned. It was a perplexing position for me. Everybody knows how portentously already the clouds of disunion darkened the political horizon of the country in the latter part of 1859. Then, already, in St. Louis the disloyal "Minute men" on the one side, and the loyal "Wide awakes" on the other, were closing ranks, and every issue, social or political, was decided or acted upon as it affected this all-absorbing question. The Dents, at least the old gentleman, were known to be pro-slavery Democrats, and, to use the harsh language of that period, outspoken rebels. Grant lived with them, and though nothing was known of his political views, the shadow of their disloyalty necessarily fell on him. We felt bound, foreseeing events to come, to surround ourselves with officers whose loyalty to the Union was unquestioned. Our court consisted of John H. Lightner, Benjamin Farrar, Col. Alton R. Easton, Peregrine Tibbets, and myself. Easton and Tibbets were Democrats.

[1] In his "Memoirs" Gen'l Grant says that he applied for the position of "County Engineer." There was no such officer at that time.

[2] Member of Congress, and afterwards, under Grant's administration, Minister to Brazil and Commissioner of the District of Columbia.

Col. Easton was a Union Democrat, an ex-officer of the Mexican war, and had known Grant. Tibbets, a most estimable gentleman, was a pro-slavery Democrat. I made my report, adverse to Grant, verbally, and all but Tibbets voted for F. Salomon, brother of the renowned war Governor of Wisconsin, an excellent civil engineer, who later served in the civil war as Colonel of Artillery, and died of wounds received in battle. In his Memoirs, p. 212, General Grant alludes to this episode in his life, and concludes with the following words: "My opponent had the advantage of birth over me (he was a citizen by adoption) and carried off the prize." In this he evidently makes it appear as though Salomon was chosen because he was a German. As I was the only German-born member of the Board, and the other four were Americans, he evidently wrote this under misapprehension. How anxious Grant was to obtain that position appears from the following letter written six months later: —

"St. Louis, Feb. 13, 1860.

"*Hon. J. H. Lightner,*

"*Pres. Board of County Commissioners.*

"Sir:

"Should the office of County Engineer be vacated by the will of your Hon. body, I would respectfully renew the application made by me in August last for that appointment. I would also, by leave, refer to the application and recommendations then submitted and now on file with your Board.

"I am, sir,

"Respectfully your obt. svt.,

"U. S. Grant." [1]

After this occurrence Grant left the farm, moved to St. Louis, where he entered, without succeeding, into the real estate business, and then completely dropped out of sight

[1] The original of this letter is in possession of the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis.

and memory of the St. Louis people. Not until he had gained his first laurels at Belmont, Missouri, did the name strike his former neighbors, and people asked each other whether this could be the same Grant, Dent's son-in-law, — the same slow, seemingly indolent and apathetic man, whom they had seen drive a team of cord wood from his father-in-law's woods, and whom they had never believed to be much of a man.

Events marched rapidly. The victory at Fort Donaldson turned the eyes of the whole country toward Grant and gained him the Major-Generalship. Soon after this he visited St. Louis, and, among others, called on his friend, Henry T. Blow, then member of Congress. Mr. Blow on the following day brought me substantially the following message from him: "I wish you would tell Dr. Taussig that I feel much indebted to him for having voted against me when I applied for the position of Road Superintendent. Had he supported me I might be in that obscure position to-day, instead of being Major-General."

There can be little doubt that these remarks reflected his own honest opinion of himself. Naturally his military genius, as it gradually developed, gave rise to many discussions among the St. Louis people who had known him in the dark days prior to the war. They asked each other whether any of them ever had an idea as to the powers that were hidden under the surface of this silent, phlegmatic man. The great military genius, the dominating firmness of character, the fine personal qualities, and even the literary ability as shown in his dispatches and in his memoirs, were all there, but dormant, only awaiting a stimulus to waken them into activity — a spark to fire them up to warmth and life. The civil war proved to be that spark; without it the genius in him might have slumbered on without awakening, and what was hidden in him never would have come to the surface. Had he been in the possession of a snug little office, with sufficient income to live comfortably with his wife and children, independ-

ent of his father-in-law, it is at least a debatable question whether, at the outbreak of the war, he would have shaken off his easy-going indolence and volunteered into the service. When he did so it was only after he had made a failure of the tanning business in Galena and after his father and brother could do nothing further for him. So his own admission that "had he been in office as Road Superintendent he might still be so" was at that time shared by all who knew him, and is still my honest belief. On a later occasion, to which I shall refer hereafter, he indirectly expressed this view to me.

Unquestionably his dependent position at Dent's had soured him, perhaps led him to those habits of occasional intemperance (which had received much wider notice than there was warrant for), and made him wish for any change.

The following occurrence may tend to illustrate the temper of his father-in-law toward him after the fall of Fort Donaldson. I was driving with John Fenton Long, who was then occupying the position of Road Superintendent that Grant had applied for, a near neighbor of Dent's, and one of the most devoted friends of Grant, under whom he afterwards occupied several high offices, when, at a cross-road, we met Col. Dent, and, stopping, engaged in conversation. Long mentioned the famous victory that Grant had accomplished at Fort Donaldson, when Dent, interrupting him angrily, said: "Don't talk to me about this Federal son-in-law of mine. There shall always be a plate on my table for Julia, but none for him." From this remark I inferred at once that I had done Grant an injustice; that he had always been a Union man and had incurred Dent's displeasure on that account. How little did this old man foresee the great honor that was in store for him by being permitted to sit at the presidental table of his son-in-law.

Years passed, and in 1868, Grant became President. He had been a warm friend and admirer of Capt. Jas. B. Eads, the famous engineer who designed and built the St. Louis bridge. Early in its inception, being also a warm friend

of Capt. Eads, I became interested in the enterprise, and, having been forced by ill-health to abandon my profession, joined the directory of the Bridge Company in 1867 and became the general manager of that corporation, with which I am still identified. In the early stages of the bridge enterprise, the steamboat men of St. Louis opposed it, without avail however, in the Legislature, in Congress, and in the Municipal Assembly. They opposed the erection of any bridge whatever, ostensibly because their high chimneys could not pass under bridges at high water, but really because they thought that railroad bridges would seriously affect the river trade. Foremost among the opponents were Capt. McCune and Capt. Sam. Gaty, of the St. Louis and Keokuk line of steamboats. As is well known, the Bridge Company had to struggle against great physical and technical difficulties, consequent upon the novelty of the engineering features of that structure; but finally, in 1873, after its great piers were sunk and the ponderous arches erected, the owners of the Keokuk Packet Line filed a complaint with the Secretary of War, that the bridge was an obstruction to commerce, because the smoke stacks of their boats could not pass under the bridge at high water without lowering, and they asked for the removal of the structure on this account. It became at once evident to us that this complaint was not filed with the former Secretary of War, Judge Taft, of Cincinnati, father of the present Governor of Manilla, and before the structure was practically completed, because there was no chance of its then being seriously entertained, but that now General Belknap (of unsavory record), a Keokuk man, and a friend of McCune and Gaty, being Secretary, there was a chance for his town folk and intimate friends. It was intimated at the time that Belknap was interested in that line, but it is not known whether such was the case.

At all events the Secretary, immediately upon the filing of this petition, appointed a commission of army engineers, Col. Simpson presiding, to inquire into this alleged obstruction. That commission appeared, took ex parte testimony

from steamboat men only, refused the Bridge Company and its counsel, Gen. John W. Noble, any hearing, and arbitrarily closed the proceedings before the Bridge Company could take breath.[1]

To the astonishment of the whole community the commission reported to the Secretary that although the bridge had been constructed in exact accordance with the Act of Congress, it nevertheless was an obstruction to navigation and should be taken down, or that a ship canal should be built around it at its eastern end, and that the whole matter be reported to Congress for its action in the premises. A few days after the rendering of this report we learned that it had been approved by the Secretary and ordered to be filed for reference to Congress.

Everybody in St. Louis was astounded at that report. It was ridiculed by the press and the comment on the Secretary's action was very severe. To the Bridge Company, however, it was a matter of serious concern. Over six millions of money had already been expended, and financial negotiations for the means to complete the structure were then pending which would have failed if the existence of the structure were in peril through a recommendation of the Secretary to Congress to have it removed.

In this emergency Capt. Eads and I concluded to appeal to the President, and on a hot July morning of the same year we appeared at the White House, sent in our cards, and were promptly admitted. Upon our entering his cabinet President Grant met Capt. Eads with outstretched hands, greeting him warmly, and then, turning toward me, said, with a facetious smile, while shaking hands with me: "How are you, Judge."[2] I noticed the allusion at once and said: "Mr. President, by addressing me as 'Judge' I hope you do not recall a former event which has weighed heavily on my mind ever since you have attained your high

[1] For full details of this interesting episode see Prof. C. M. Woodward's "History of the St. Louis Bridge," pp. 263–282.

[2] The County Commissioners, at the time of Grant's application, had the title of judge.

position." He laughed and said: "Oh, no; you see how much better it is than it might have been."

We stated our case and he listened seriously and attentively. He had never heard of this commission, — its appointment or action. After a while he rang the bell and sent for the Secretary. General Belknap soon entered, and the President at once, rapidly and curtly, asked him a few categorical questions, — had the bridge been built in accordance with the provisions of the Act of Congress, and had the structure been approved by the former Secretary of War? Belknap said yes, but claimed the general authority under the law given to the Secretary of War to remove obstructions to navigation, and offered to send for all the papers in the case.

The President said nothing for a while, and then, with that peculiar firm set of his lower jaw, substantially said: "I do not care to look at the papers. You certainly cannot remove this structure on your own judgment. If Congress were to order its removal it would have to pay for it. It would hardly do that in order to save high smokestacks from being lowered when passing under the bridge. If your Keokuk friends feel aggrieved let them sue the bridge people for damages. I think, General, you had better drop the case."

Belknap, whose face had colored to a deep red, rose, and, with a bow, left the cabinet. We left soon, with warm thanks, and were enabled to inform the public and our bankers that this vexatious proceeding had been entirely abandoned by order of the President.

After this occurrence President Grant visited our bridge office and inspected the progress of the work every time he came to St. Louis. I remember particularly one raw, cold November day in 1873, when he came to our office, accompanied by the late Capt. Cozzens and Mr. Chauncey I. Filley, and went out with Capt. Eads and Col. Hy. Flad, the Assistant Chief Engineer, to walk over the first two arches, over which only a few narrow planks had been laid. It was hard and risky work, even for those accus-

tomed to it, but, as Col. Flad told me, the President walked over it fearlessly and took in everything that was shown him with much interest. Upon the return of the party Capt. Eads took a bottle of brandy out of his closet, I brought out my box of cigars, and we all sat down around a draughtsman's deal table. The President and those with him were nearly frozen and he and they enjoyed the brandy. He smoked cigars rapidly and had them half chewed up when he threw them away. His conversation and demeanor were as quiet, modest and unassuming as those of any private citizen. While looking at him I had always to recall to my mind and to realize that it was not an ordinary citizen who sat and chatted at this table, but the greatest man of his time.

History has already inscribed this great character, and what the country owes to him, upon its tablets, but only a few have been privileged to know his plain and unassuming disposition, the ease with which he turned from the lofty eminence of the presidential chair into the position of a plain citizen, the loyalty with which he clung, often to his own discomfort and disparagement, to old friends and adherents, and withal the quiet, impressive dignity which distinguished this unpretending democratic citizen President.

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A HISTORY OF BATTERY "A" OF ST. LOUIS,

With an Account of the Early Artillery Companies from which it is Descended.

BY V. M. PORTER.

(Read at a meeting of the Society, Feb. 11, 1904.)

Mr. President and Members of the Missouri Historical Society:

When requested by the President to prepare for the Society a history of the Battery, I took good pains not to ask whether he wanted it confined to the present National Guard organization or meant that it should include the several batteries, more or less related, that have successively upheld the artillery arm of the local military service from the Territorial days to the present time. Having in mind particularly that Battery "A" of St. Louis, little remembered now, which in 1846 made one of the most extraordinary expeditions in military annals, namely, an overland march to Mexico, there to reap glory on the battlefield of Sacramento, I could not pass by the opportunity to recall that remarkable feat and at the same time to claim that battery as an ancestor of the later Battery "A," which in 1898 made an expedition equally long, under dif-

ferent although not less trying circumstances, to the island of Porto Rico, there to catch a glimpse of glory but not to possess it. Construing liberally, therefore, the scope of my assignment, I undertook in the interest of local annals to collect such facts as I could pertaining to all the light artillery companies of St. Louis, each of them in turn the representative organization, even though I might not be able to show that they have followed one another in apostolic succession, so to speak. There were periods in the city's history when for some reason or another, usually because Peace was claiming her victories, the volunteer military companies were disbanded, thus losing continuity of organization. Yet most of the batteries are linked by a transmission of name or a legacy of membership or at least a family interest, as one may discover who looks at the several muster rolls reflecting an activity in the local artillery by four generations of St. Louisans.

THE WAR OF 1812.

The first mention of an artillery company in St. Louis that I have found is contained in a letter, now in the possession of this Society, written by one John Sparks to his kindred in New Town, New York, giving a description of life in St. Louis in 1812, and an account of a Fourth of July celebration. Among other things he wrote:

....."An oration was deliver'd by one Lawer Hall in the Court House where we all collected, with the Militia Company, one Company of Light Horse, one Company of Rifle men, on Horse Clothed in Rifle Woodmens Dress, and thare went to Dinner in ye aBove mentioned Markett House which was prepared with Tables, benches &c. 120 of us at one Table. the Dinner was Prepared by one Major Christy who Keeps the Head inn here, from Philadelphia. we had a Noble Dinner for $1.25 each person & pd $2.50 Each for wine. We allso had 20 Toasts give us and a cannon fird at each Toast with a clap of hands and 3 chears allso Elegant Songs..... P. S. they are making

all arrangements here to meet the Endians. [t]here is a volunteer company here allso, an Artillery Company..... I count very little Danger will proceed from ye Indians unless ye British Putt them up to it...."

The *Missouri Gazette*, of Saturday, August 22, 1812, says: "St. Louis now boasts of one troop of Horse (now on active duty on the fronteers), one company of riflemen (on board a galley near the mouth of the Illinois) One company of artillery, now organizing, one company of infantry, and a Veteran Corps, chiefly consisting of men above the age of 45." As the newspapers of that time make no further reference to the artillery company — and as the War Department records do not show it was ever in the United States service — it may have remained only a home guard. At any rate I have found no mention of cannon having been used against the Indians in this region.

MISSOURI LIGHT ARTILLERY (1842-46).

An infantry company was organized in 1819 and a troop of horse, under Captain Archibald Gamble, was formed in 1822, but not until the outbreak of the Black Hawk War, in 1832, was there much increase in the number of local militia companies. In that year the once famous 'St. Louis Grays' came into existence. That company has special interest for us in the fact that a portion of its members a generation later joined the 'Missouri Light Artillery,' an organization of which I am about to speak. After 1836 there was a hiatus in military activity until 1842. In July of that year the Missouri Light Artillery, the first local battery of which we have definite knowledge, was organized.[1] Its first appearance was in a parade on February 22 of the following year. Many of the members were Germans, who had seen service in the fatherland. Henry Kretchmar was captain and the first lieutenant was Henry Ahmstedt, Jr., who later succeeded to the command. Four six-pound brass cannon were cast for

[1] Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis, vol. 3, p. 1495.

the battery at the St. Louis Arsenal. The caissons and carriages were made there also. "The uniform was a dark blue, single-breasted frock coat, red collar and cuffs, trimmed with gilt braid; light blue trousers with double red stripe; epaulets, brass scales. The hat was of light blue, with patent leather top, ornamented in front with a gilt flaming shell; red horse hair plume, drooping down the right side of the hat. The privates carried short swords. The officers.... were armed with horse pistols."[1]

This organization is not to be confused with a battalion of the same name, that later went out in the Mexican War as volunteers. It seems to have been a home company that may have stood on its rights as a preserver of domestic peace, although some of its members individually may have volunteered in the war batteries.

THE MEXICAN WAR BATTERIES (1846–47).

After the Texan revolutionary army, under General Sam Houston, had driven the Mexicans across the Rio Grande, it found its hands so full in resisting fresh incursions from Mexico that the northern and western part of the State, through which ran the Santa Fé trail, was left unprotected to the great distress of the traders, many of them St. Louisans, whose great caravans of ten-mule wagons were journeying in constantly increasing numbers over the plains to Santa Fé. To protect the traders and to follow out a plan of campaign determined upon, President Polk ordered General Kearny to raise not over three thousand volunteers, which with the few regulars then stationed at Fort Leavenworth would form a column to be known as the 'Army of the West.' This small force was to cross the plains and take possession of Santa Fé as a center of operations. General Kearny thereupon requested the Governor of Missouri to furnish one thousand men. A battalion, to consist of two companies, was to serve as light artillery and the rest of the levy as mounted riflemen. The Governor

[1] Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis, vol. 3, p. 1495.

called on St. Louis County (which then included the city) to furnish the artillery, and the northern river counties to furnish the riflemen.

Major Meriwether Lewis Clark, of St. Louis, a graduate of West Point and a veteran of both the War of 1812 and the Black Hawk War, undertook to raise the two batteries. Obedient to a call published in the newspapers many of the first young men of the town volunteered their services, being influenced in some degree by the traders' stories of fabulous wealth to be gained in the Mexican country. The meeting of the recruits was held on May 28, 1846, in the office of a justice of the peace over a blacksmith's shop on Third street, between Pine and Olive. Here was organized 'Battery "A," Missouri Light Artillery.' The men elected as their captain Richard Hanson Weightman, a West Pointer, whose frank manly bearing had won him great popularity. The other officers chosen were:[1] Andrew J. Dorn and Edmund F. Chouteau, first lieutenants, and John O. Simpson, second lieutenant. The sergeants were: John R. Gratiot,[2] Davis Moore and A. V. Wilson; the corporals, Wm. H. Thorpe, Wm. Clark Kennerly,[3] Clay Taylor, J. R. White and George W. Winston. Each artilleryman was required to furnish himself with a good horse, saddle, clothing and in fact everything but arms. The uniform adopted, which was similar to the fatigue dress of the regulars, consisted of a flat blue cap with red band bearing the artillery emblem, short blue jacket with red standing collars, and trousers with red stripes — one stripe for the men and two for the officers. As a further distinguishing mark the officers wore a band of gold lace on the collar. The men procured Spanish saddles of one pattern. The saddle was little more than a skeleton to which were attached the girth and stirrup straps, rendering it cool and light as possible for the horse. A comfortable seat was obtained by

[1] *St. Louis Weekly Reveille*, May 29, 1846.

[2] Was afterward elected second lieutenant, on the plains, when it was found that the Battery was entitled to another officer.

[3] Promoted to be sergeant after Gratiot was advanced.

placing a Mackinaw blanket above and beneath the saddle. The men used the blankets also to sleep in. Each man had a stout leather belt supporting a large butcher knife and many supplied themselves with 'revolving pistols,' which were then just coming into use.

Stories of Indian massacres and hardships to be encountered on the prairies, told by friends and relatives to discourage the young men from going out, served only to whet their appetite for adventure. Then, too, they were wrought up by the exciting narratives of an old Canadian hunter, one Antoine Clement, famous in his day as the only trapper in these parts who could approach a grizzly bear on foot with any hope of victory, and Antoine was going with the expedition.

Battery "A" became the *corps d'elite* of the expedition. Everybody wanted to serve under Captain Weightman and become a comrade in arms of the intrepid Antoine. The result was that Battery "B," needed to complete the battalion, suffered for lack of recruits. The other organizations from this region: Captain Fischer's German Troop of Dragoons, the Laclede Rangers under Captain Hudson, and a company of Florissant mounted men under Captain Edmonson, were all ready to move. Major Clark's Horse Artillery, or 'Flying Artillery,' as the newspapers insisted, was alone delaying the start. Finally, to expedite matters Captain Fischer's troop was converted into a horse battery, which became Battery "B" of Clark's Battalion.

On June 13, 1846, a crowd of citizens assembled on the Levee to see the men of Battery "A," one hundred and five strong, embark with their horses and baggage on the steamboat for the trip up the Missouri river. At Fort Leavenworth the artillerymen were mustered into the United States service, but they could not continue their journey until the arrival of their guns from Pittsburgh. Meanwhile the departure every day or so of long trains of transport wagons, loaded with provisions and under orders to push on as rapidly as possible, made the warriors impatient and despondent. Another distressing circumstance

was the illness of Captain Weightman, who it was feared would have to be left at the Fort.

The long overland journey began on June 30. The St. Louis Flying Horse Artillery rode out of Fort Leavenworth into the Great West. To each of the eight long brass guns, the two twelve-pound howitzers and to the caissons were hitched four fine dragoon horses. As usual with horses first put to artillery harness many mishaps arose. On the second day out, while fording a stream in a narrow belt of woods, the drivers quickly tangled up their plunging and kicking animals and might have stopped there forever, had not the cannoneers dismounted and dragged the guns by hand up the muddy bank. (It is sad to picture the condition of those bright gay uniforms by this time.) Then came the prairies, with grass so high and rank that it reached to the backs of the horses, making progress very slow. On the Fourth of July they struck the Santa Fé trail, which was the real beginning of the monotonous march over the Great Plains. After each day's hot ride the 'city pets,' as the St. Louis artillerymen were dubbed by the country volunteers, sank quietly to sleep under the open sky, acquiring new vigor from the soft healthful air of the prairie. Just as in every war the city men soon showed that they could endure the hardships better than the countrymen who were dependent on regular habits.

One month after leaving Leavenworth the column arrived at Bent's Fort, a trading post, where the Army of the West, under General Kearny, was to assemble before going down to New Mexico. The several parts of the force had been straggling independently over the plains. The entire Army of the West, just 1757 strong, did not seem a very sizable body with which to invade the country of an enemy, and yet that depends somewhat on the point of view, to judge from an incident related. A Mexican spy who had been captured was brought into the presence of General Kearny. The fellow expected immediate punishment but to his surprise the General politely showed him

the whole camp and then told him to report to the Governor of New Mexico what he had seen. "Alas, for my poor countrymen," exclaimed the Mexican, taking to his heels.

Each morning a detail of hunters was appointed to get meat for the day's mess. At Pawnee Forks the column coming upon a herd of three thousand buffalo, Antoine, the trapper, and a few picked men were told off to bring in some buffalo meat. They got two bulls and a young cow, which Antoine himself slew. The meat had to be divided among all the companies, and to Battery "A," which had done the providing, fell a part of one of the tough old bulls. This seeming injustice made Antoine so angry that he went to General Kearny and said he intended to do no more hunting except for his own comrades. As the General could not approve of that course Antoine reserved his fire for the Mexicans.

On account of the scarcity of provisions the ration was cut down to flour alone, which the men mixed with water and fried in grease, calling the product 'slapjacks.' While at Bent's Fort the battery received a supply of draught mules to fill the places of the many horses that the fatigue of the march had killed off. Out of the hundred fine cannon horses originally supplied, not over forty were left. Here were waiting, by order of General Kearny, the traders who had started forth the autumn before, and who now fell in behind the military on the march to Santa Fé.

The column took a route that led within sight of Pike's Peak, then across the Arkansas River and over the Raton Range of the Rocky Mountains, into New Mexico. At Moro Pass the scouts, or 'spies' as they were then termed, brought in news of a large Mexican force that had retreated to the Pecos Pass where they were entrenching to receive the Americans. To the call of 'boots and saddles' the men responded with alacrity, and at the same time they beheld riding into camp, Captain Weightman, their commanding officer, who had been left behind at Leavenworth on account of illness. The men of Battery "A" greeted

him with a round of cheers. Now they were keen for the fray. As no enemy was found at the defile, the troops marched unmolested into the town of Santa Fé. Arriving on August 18, they had covered the distance of nearly nine hundred miles across the plains in a month and a half.

Santa Fé in 1846 consisted of scattered adobe huts surrounded by large cornfields. The inhabitants who had withdrawn in fear came back on the assurance that they would not be harmed. The natives and soldiers soon became friendly enough to indulge in barter. The Americans with characteristic sagacity discovered the merits of the Navajo blanket and the few who had money left bought valuable ones of beautiful design at prices ranging from one to twenty dollars.

General Kearny took a mixed force that included one hundred and fifty artillerymen on a reconnaissance down the Rio Grande, past villages of the Pueblo Indians, who received the troops with much ceremony, through the towns of Albuquerque and Valentia, to Tomae. As a substitute for money the soldiers stripped the gilt buttons from their jackets and passed them on the natives at a value of a shilling each. After the return to Santa Fé, General Kearny with all the regulars left for California, Colonel Doniphan, of Missouri, remaining in command of the volunteers. For diversion the artillerymen got up a dramatic society which gave some shows in the fandango room of the palace. Though lacking in suitable scenery and costumes they gave creditable performances of Pizarro and Bombastes Furioso, to the great amusement of audiences composed of officers and natives. It is said that the Mexican ladies persisted in smoking through the whole performance and always laughing at the wrong time.

On Christmas Day Colonel Doniphan with five hundred men, including thirty artillerymen, was well on his way to El Paso, escorting a large wagon train. While making camp at Bracito, the spies reported that the enemy in large numbers was advancing for an attack. A Mexican

lieutenant carrying a black flag rode into the American lines and defiantly demanded that the commanding officer go back with him. "Come and take him," was the reply. "A curse on you. Prepare for a charge," cried the Mexican waving the black flag and galloping off. Five hundred Mexican lancers began a charge against the left flank of the Americans, followed by an advance of an equal number of infantry with one howitzer on the right. The Americans, formed in single line, coolly reserved their fire till the Mexicans were distant not over a hundred paces. Then they let them have it. The enemy's dragoons wheeled to the left and in their flight made an attack on the provision train, but receiving from the traders[1] an equally warm reception they scattered in all directions. The Mexican infantry also being driven off, our batterymen who had been mourning the absence of their own guns made a successful rush upon the single Mexican howitzer and turned it upon the retreating 'greasers.' In the battle thirty Mexicans were killed but no Americans, although our forces were outnumbered two to one—a pretty good showing for a first engagement.[2] Among the spoils were several kegs of rare wine, for which the soldiers found use, a quantity of ammunition and surgical instruments. The field was strewn with bodies of men and horses, lances, helmets, trumpets, carbines and other paraphernalia. The Mexicans on reaching El Paso reported that they had been defeated by infantry, but that a large force of cavalry had been seen coming up to reinforce the Americans. It appears that they mistook for horsemen a flock of two thousand sheep in a cloud of dust behind the wagon train.

At El Paso, which was taken without opposition, the

[1] The traders were formed into two provisional companies that were sworn into service by Col. Doniphan, but were never recognized by the Government. Edward James Glasgow, of St. Louis, commanded one of these companies.

[2] Semi-official report of the Battle of Bracito, C. H. Kribben, 1st Lt., Mo. Light Artillery.

column awaited the arrival of the artillery which was hurrying on from Santa Fé. The soldiers had begun to feel the privations of the campaign. There was a scarcity of food, and the rags worn by the men would have shamed even the tattered cadets of Gascogny. Those beautiful uniforms, provided by the generous citizens of St. Louis, and the red flannel check shirts were now hanging in ribbons or were lying beside the Santa Fé trail waiting to be picked up by Navajos and woven into blankets. The man who boasted a pair of shoes was to be envied. A few fortunate ones had secured suits of buckskin from the Indians. The soldiers had received no pay and they had spent all their brass buttons.

On February 1, 1847, Battery "A", its strength increased to one hundred and fifty by drafts on Fischer's Battery, reached El Paso with four brass six-pounders and two twelve-pound howitzers. With the column now swelled to a thousand men Colonel Doniphan crossed the Rio Grande. Intelligence arriving that General Wool, whom he had expected to join in Chihuahua, had changed his route, the question confronting Doniphan was whether to return to Santa Fé or proceed alone into the heart of the enemy's country. After consulting with his officers he decided to proceed. On the advance there was constant danger of attack. Although the foe was retreating toward Sacramento it was thought he would make a stand at the first good position. As a precaution against surprise the wagons were used as a buffer for the advancing troops. Just as anticipated the spies discovered the Mexicans in large force waiting in an intrenched place. Colonel Doniphan resolved to attack.

In the words of an artilleryman who recorded his experiences soon afterward: ...."the trumpets sound the trot, all [of our troops] move out from the cover of the wagons and take up a position.... Nothing can exceed the enthusiasm of our men.... Our little battery occupies the centre. On the right and left of it are two companies of cavalry ....As we form, the enemy's artillery opens upon us,

and at that instant Weightman's clear voice is heard — 'Form battery, action front, load and fire at will,' and our pieces ring out the death-knell of the enemy .... And here *we* are....sitting on our horses dodging Mexican balls as they come humming through our ranks, first striking the ground about midway and soon becoming visible. It was surprising the skill which we soon obtained in this employment.''[1]

Turning from that account let us see what the gunners were doing. The pieces had been posted in separate positions. One section, in charge of Sergeant Kennerly, as he himself has recently recounted to me, and acting under orders of Lieutenant La Beaume,[2] crept up the side of a ravine and poked the nose of the gun over the brow of a hill, training it upon the Mexican cavalry which was waiting with lances poised ready for a charge. The gunner applied the port-fire and following the crash the young cannoneers saw the Mexican horsemen literally melt from their saddles. The single charge of canister left not a solitary lancer. Colonel Mitchell on his white steed, waving his saber, led forth the Missouri rangers, while just behind him followed Weightman with the howitzers, which separating to the right and left came into action on the flanks, raking the enemy's infantry with shot and canister. The Mexican artillery tried to 'snake' a gun with their lassos but they were overtaken and captured with the gun. The main position of the enemy having been taken the remainder of the battery came galloping up to occupy it. The battle seemed over when a masked gun of the enemy on a distant mountain let fall a solid shot among the Battery "A" drivers, knocking a saddle blanket from one of the mules. Two of the six-pounders were at once placed upon the deserted intrenchments and by a well directed fire dismounted the enemy's piece. Then followed the pursuit. Weightman,

[1] *A Campaign in New Mexico*, by Frank S. Edwards (1847), p. 112.

[2] Lieut. L. T. La Beaume, who went out with the Laclede Rangers but was assigned by Gen. Kearney's order to duty with the artillery.

the gallant battery commander, dashed on with the cavalry toward the city. Looking over his shoulder he saw his guns were not following him. Galloping back he shouted, "On with that battery. If I knew who had halted you I'd cut him down."[1] The flying artillery thereupon lifted its wings and swooped onward toward the city. The Mexicans, however, or what was left of them, made good their escape.

From the official account[2] of the Battle of Sacramento, we learn that twelve pieces of artillery were taken. Of the troops engaged the Americans had 924 and the Mexicans 4,224, about one to four. The enemy lost 320 killed, 560 wounded and 72 prisoners. The Americans lost but

[1] Captain Richard Hanson Weightman, the West Pointer who commanded Battery "A" of St. Louis in the Mexican War, was a gallant, high-spirited dare-devil such as one rarely encounters in real life. Once during the campaign a rumor reached him that he was being maligned by Lieut. Edmund ("Gessie") Chouteau. He sent for that gentleman and asked him what he meant by such talk. Chouteau said the Captain had not treated him fairly in some particular and enlarging upon his supposed grievance grew angry and demanded a gentleman's satisfaction. Weightman readily assented to the proposal but Chouteau, who was carrying a wounded right arm in a sling, asked that the meeting be postponed for a while, else he would be at some disadvantage. "Oh, that's all right," said Weightman, "I'll hold my right hand behind me and we'll shoot with our left hands." Fortunately friends intervened in time to prevent the duel. — After the Mexican War, Captain Weightman returned to Santa Fé, opened up a law office and also ran a small newspaper. A man named Andrey accused him of publishing a falsehood. In the quarrel that ensued Weightman stabbed him dead. — One time in open court Weightman accused the judge of sitting in a case in which he was personally interested. The judge responded with a challenge. In the duel that followed soon afterward Weightman alone fired at the command. The judge, who was deaf, ducked his head as the bullet whizzed by and shouted, "I didn't hear the command to fire." "All right," called Weightman holding up his hands, "You have the right to shoot. Fire now." The seconds rushed in and tried to induce Weightman to apologize and so stop the proceedings. "I'll apologize," said Weightman, "as far as being sorry is concerned, but" (addressing his opponent) "I can't take back what I said, Judge, for it was so." The judge was willing to accept that as an apology, but he declared that if Weightman ever again insulted him on the bench he would shoot next time to kill.

[2] Official Report of the Battle of Sacramento: Colonel A. W. Doniphan.

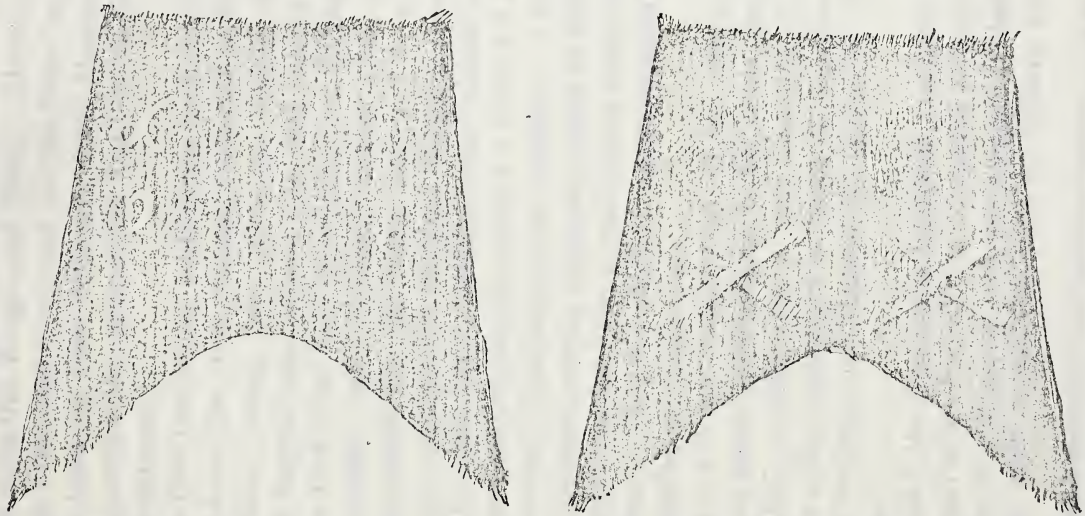
one man, Major Owens, a civilian, who was in charge of the wagons. Among the trophies picked up on the field was the black flag [1] that had been shaken by the impetuous Mexican in the faces of the Americans at Bracito.

After two months in Sacramento, Doniphan's force proceeded toward Buena Vista to join General Taylor. In the valley of San Luis Potosí they encountered a band of sixty Comanche Indians with many stolen horses and captive Mexican girls and children. In the fight that resulted sixteen savages were killed. On the body of one was found a gold crucifix which a Mexican child said belonged to his father who had been murdered. A jeweled stiletto was recovered from the body of another Indian. Those of the children whose people were still alive were sent back to their homes and the stolen horses were taken down the valley and restored to their owner, a rich ranchero, who showed his gratitude by spreading a feast in the hacienda yard in honor of the soldiers. Barrel after barrel of old wine was opened till every last batteryman probably slid under the table.

Doniphan's men reached Buena Vista too late to have a part in the big battle there. General Wool, riding out with his staff in full uniform to meet them, warmly congratulated them on their great campaign, saying that they had covered themselves with glory. There being no more battles to fight and the year's enlistment having expired, the St. Louisans wanted to go home, although General Wool was anxious to have them stay and serve with him. They remembered too keenly, however, their niggardly treatment by the Government, the lack of pay and rations, to crave any more service. Accordingly they turned over to the General all of their ordnance except the captured guns and headed for Monterey on the homeward journey.

Just as they were making camp one day at Monterey, a rather plain looking man, wearing a check shirt, brown

[1] This flag was brought back to St. Louis by Major Meriwether Lewis Clark, and is now the property of his nephew, Major William Clark Kennerly, who has loaned it to this Society.



Mexican Battle Flag ("Liberty or Death") captured at the Battle of Sacramento, 1847, by Battery A, of St. Louis.

holland coat, shabby trousers and big straw hat, wandered in and began to examine closely the Mexican cannon. "That's him," whispered one of the men, and they gazed with awe upon Old Rough and Ready. He addressed the men with a few kind words and on the following day rode out with them on their departure from Monterey. The farewell between the Missourians and General Taylor was long remembered.

At the Rio Grande the artillerymen took steamboat and voyaged down the river reaching the mouth in four days. No provision having been made for sending home the horses, a bargain was entered into with one of the sergeants to take them back overland at five dollars a head. All the saddles, extra blankets, buffalo robes, etc., not absolutely needed for the return were put in a pile and burned up to prevent the despised Mexicans from getting them. It is said that a Mexican who was idly watching the preparations for the fire offered a dollar for a saddle. He was promptly knocked over by a soldier. A portion of the men chartered a leaky sloop and sailed to Mobile, but the majority crowded into a small filthy bark, bound for New Orleans. They ran short of water and suffered many other hardships on the journey.

Battery "A" was mustered out of the service at New Orleans and came by steamboat to St. Louis, arriving on July 3, 1847, a little over a year since the departure. There was a big celebration in honor of the return and a speech of welcome by Thomas H. Benton in his most florid style.[1]

Thus ended the wonderful Doniphan Overland Expedition, the narrative of which has consumed perhaps an undue portion of this paper, but my apology is that it was one of the most remarkable feats in military history—

[1] Mayor Bryan Mullanphy, who would not approve an appropriation of city funds for the celebration, and who also declined to help collect money from the citizens, on account, as he said, of his official position, was politely requested in an open letter by George K. McGunnegle to remain away from the feast. (See *St. Louis Reveille*, July 1, 1847.)

remarkable as showing what can be achieved in an enemy's country by a small body of fearless men against numbers almost overwhelming, remarkable too in view of the utter lack of assistance from the Government, the men having lived by foraging, and most remarkable of all as *the longest march of field artillery in all the annals of warfare.* Although the achievement is almost forgotten now and is barely mentioned in current histories, William Cullen Bryant, in 1847, writing for the New York *Evening Post*, said no expedition in history was at all comparable to it except that of Xenophon, when he led the Greek army across Asia Minor, through the plains of the Euphrates, to Babylon, and back over the high lands of Armenia to Constantinople, a distance not two-thirds as great as that traversed by the St. Louis artillerymen, and yet the story of Xenophon has survived the ravages of a thousand years and the name of Doniphan except in Missouri has become almost obscure in less than sixty.

In this year 1904, among the few survivors of that Battery "A" of St. Louis are William Clark Kennerly, A. G. Hequembourg, Tom Cavanaugh, Clay Taylor, Dr. Thomas and George Hayward. Of the four Mexican brass cannon brought back as trophies, one of them, named 'Old Sacramento', was taken into the Confederate service by Captain H. M. Bledsoe. The others in 1860 were recast at St. Louis into six-pounders, one of which burst and the other two now flank the terrace in front of the capitol at Jefferson City. The small silk American flag carried by the Battery and inscribed with the names of the battles fought, is one of the most cherished possessions of this Society.

MISSOURI LIGHT ARTILLERY (1847–59).

After the Mexican war, all of the volunteer military companies of St. Louis, except the St. Louis Grays, are said to have disbanded, the youth of the town having had now a full measure of military excitement and preferring to

work off its surplus energy in the volunteer fire department, which no doubt had uniforms just as showy. The delight of running breathlessly with the old machine to a fire in the outskirts — perhaps as far out as Twelfth street — and then kow-tow-ing with might and main on the pump handles did very well for the native-born citizens, but as for the sedate Germans below the Mill Creek Valley the martial spirit still had charm, for it appears that the old Missouri Light Artillery, that militia company which did not go off to the War, was still in existence. In 1852 its captain was Henry Ahmstedt, Jr. On the day of the city election, April 5, in that year, occurred a serious riot between the German and American citizens. The Germans, who were supporting T. P. Chiles, a Benton Democrat, for Mayor, captured the polls in the First Ward and threw out their opponents. The Americans, most of whom were for L. M. Kennett, the Whig candidate, when they heard of the outrage marched in a body from the other wards and charged the polls, driving away the Germans. Further serious collisions took place during the day. In the evening a mob of Americans broke into the armory of the Missouri Light Artillery at Seventh street and Park avenue, stole two six-pounders, loaded and placed them at the corner of Sixth street and Park avenue, so as to sweep the sidewalks where the Germans were gathered. Fortunately the pieces were not fired and no attempt was made to capture them.[1]

Two years later the 'Know Nothing' Riots at election time threw the city into great disorder. The militia companies turned out and drove the rioters into the river. A mob again tried to capture the guns of the artillery at the sheds where they were stored, but the determined Germans belonging to the company, who had armed themselves with shotguns, put the assailants to flight.

[1] *Morning Signal*, St. Louis, April 6, 1852.

THE MISSOURI LIGHT ARTILLERY IN THE SOUTHWEST EXPEDITION (1860).

The depredations and incursions of the 'Free-soilers' of Kansas, known as the 'Jay Hawkers,' in the year 1860, made necessary a defense of the Missouri border by her militia. The eight hundred troops ordered out by the Governor included the Missouri Light Artillery, of St. Louis, now somewhat changed in personnel, and the whole force was known as the 'Southwest Expedition.' They left St. Louis Sunday, November 25, 1860, traveled by rail to a point near Sedalia and from there marched to Papinsville, near the border, but finding things had quieted down, most of the companies returned home within a week. Those remaining were three troops of cavalry under Captain William Clark Kennerly, and the artillery, which was increased by a large accession of volunteers from the St. Louis Grays. The officers of the battery were now Captain William Jackson, Lieutenants Henry Guibor, W. B. Barlow and Rudolph Webber. This force remained on the border for about six months, returning only when Governor Claiborne Jackson, a Southern sympathizer, ordered a concentration of the State militia at St. Louis in May, 1861. The artillery and other troops accordingly marched homeward, arriving at Camp Jackson just in time to be captured by the Union forces.

THE CIVIL WAR BATTERIES (1861–65).

The disbandment of the Missouri Light Artillery after the Camp Jackson affair left the city without any militia battery. After the opening of the Civil War and during it the many batteries organized in St. Louis or by St. Louisans in the field, on both the Union and Confederate sides, can hardly be classed as local companies, but as they have some sort of relation to the town, a brief mention of the more important will be given.

Perhaps the most famous battery from St. Louis on either side was the Confederate 'Guibor's Battery.' About two weeks after the surrender of Camp Jackson, Lieutenants Guibor and Barlow, of the Missouri Light Artillery, hearing that they were likely to be arrested, quietly left the city and journeyed to Cowskin Prairie in Southwest Missouri, where they joined Price and organized a battery, Guibor taking command and Barlow becoming his first lieutenant. With some old guns they fought at Oak Hills, Carthage and Lexington. In 1862 after the retreat back to Southwest Missouri, they left the State service and repaired to Memphis, reporting to General Frost, who had come there with some of the exchanged Camp Jackson prisoners.' From these St. Louisans, Captain Guibor formed a new battery, which was termed the 'First Missouri Light Artillery,' but was familiarly known as 'Guibor's Battery.' It participated in many battles, always winning high praise for gallantry and efficiency. After Vicksburg (1863), Wade's and Landis's Missouri Batteries were absorbed by it. The Battery then served under Johnston in his Georgia campaign against Sherman. Guibor's Battery was on top of Kennesaw Mountain and was a leading factor in repulsing the gallant assault of Blair's Corps. At Franklin it suffered great loss but drove the Federals from the first line of works (1864). Afterwards the command fell to Lieutenant Samuel M. Kennard, serving under General Forrest and then going to reinforce Johnston in North Carolina. Guibor's Battery finally surrendered at Goldboro' in that State, on April 26, 1865. Only a remnant of the original command returned to St. Louis.

On the Union side the very first men in St. Louis to volunteer for the three months' service composed what was later known as the 'First Missouri Light Artillery.' The three earliest companies to volunteer were made up almost entirely of German turners. General Harney, then in command at St. Louis, in the absence of orders refused to take them into the United States service or even admit

them to the Arsenal. After several unsuccessful attempts to get in, the companies decided to offer their services to the Governor of Illinois. Hon. Frank P. Blair, Jr., hearing of this, went with Captain Lyon and Lieutenant John M. Schofield (later general commanding the army) to consult the companies, promising to take care of them. Captain Lyon, succeeding General Harney in command of the Arsenal, accepted the companies on April 22, 1861, the first Union volunteers in St. Louis. During the following few days enough other companies were taken to form a regiment, the command of which fell to Frank P. Blair by election. Schofield became a major of this regiment. On the tenth of May it participated in the capture of Camp Jackson. On June 10 it was organized into a three-years regiment, which was soon converted into a regiment of light artillery. Battery "A," First Missouri Artillery, under the immediate command of Major Schofield, was engaged at Fredricktown, Mo., on October 22, 1861, and rendered excellent service. Among the engagements of the Civil War in which the batteries of the First Missouri took part may be mentioned Wilson's Creek, Fort Donaldson, Shiloh, Pea Ridge, Corinth, Vicksburg, Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge and the Georgia engagements. The First saw as much service as any other volunteer regiment in the War.

The Second Missouri Artillery was organized in the autumn of 1861. Its first colonel was Henry Ahmstedt, Jr., already mentioned as captain of the old militia artillery during the 'fifties. He was succeeded by Colonel Nelson Cole. Altogether there were twenty or thirty batteries some time or another connected with this regiment, but the most celebrated perhaps was 'Landgraeber's Battery,' known also as the 'First Missouri Flying Artillery.' This battery was a terror to the Confederates, who dubbed its captain the 'Flying Dutchman.' It would be tedious to narrate even a list of the battles in which Landgraeber's Battery had a part. It was with the army of the Tennessee in the Chattanooga campaign and later marched through

Georgia with Sherman, often taking the measure of Guibor's Battery, its Confederate rival from St. Louis. The spectacular charges and cross country marches of the Flying Dutchman's Battery were things to talk about in those days.

A history of the light batteries from St. Louis in the Civil War would be a history of the war itself. Many of these batteries, too, lost their local character from having to fill up their depleted ranks by volunteers from other States.

THE SIMPSON BATTERY (1868–1875).

After a conflict so stupendous as the Civil War it could not be expected that there would be much military energy left. In St. Louis it took over three years for enough to accumulate to revive the militia companies. On November 24, 1868, the first of them was mustered into the State service. It was the 'Simpson Battery,' named in honor of Samuel Simpson who was Adjutant-General under Governor Fletcher, and its organizers were in most part veteran members of Battery "C" of Colonel Frank P. Blair's 1st Missouri Light Artillery. The first Captain was W. F. Fuchs, a man of advanced age who enjoyed the rank of office but left the burdens to his first lieutenant, Andrew Franklin, Jr.,[1] an experienced artilleryman and famous horseman, who succeeded to the command in February, 1871. Although the Simpson Battery had no armory or quarters of any kind, since the State was giving no money to the militia, it became through Captain Franklin's efforts a

[1] Franklin's name was originally *Frankfeld*. When in 1861 with other German turners he was enrolled in Colonel Blair's regiment his name through some confusion got recorded as *Franklin*. At the first roll-call the sergeant called out that name. Nobody answered. Discovering Frankfeld in line he shouted at him in some wrath, "That's your name, ain't it? Why don't you answer?" "Not mine," said the recruit, "My name it is Frankfeld." "Well, it's written down here *Franklin*. Too late now to change back. When I say Franklin, that means *you*." And so the young German acquired the distinguished American name.

well-trained body. It had a normal strength of fifty-four men and four guns. The ordnance was stored in a coal yard at Twenty-First and Wash Streets and there also the cannoneers did their drilling. What the organization lacked in the way of private comforts it tried to make up for by its public appearance. The uniform consisted of a white metal helmet topped by a horse-tail plume, a dark blue shell-jacket with heavy epaulets, light blue breeches with red stripes, and high boots. This apparel each man kept in his own home, after the manner of the German *land-wehr*. In those days when processions were more highly regarded than now, the Simpson Battery often had opportunity to go on parade. It seems to have had no race or national prejudices for we find it turned out to help the colored folk celebrate an emancipation day anniversary, marched with the Italians on Christopher Columbus day, joined the French in their fete on Bastile day, helped the Germans celebrate the victory of Sedan, had a place among the Irish in the St. Patrick's day procession and never missed a Fourth of July parade. On one such occasion it turned out with 120 horses, a team of six to the gun and each cannoneer being mounted. Afterward at the Fair Grounds a tournament was held and a gun detachment from the Simpson Battery won a prize in a drill competition with a team of regulars from Jefferson Barracks.

In 1875 all of the organized militia of Missouri was disbanded, because of utter neglect by the State, although a few St. Louis companies, among them the Simpson Battery, kept up a private organization. The militia was not officially reorganized until a necessity for State troops was created by the labor troubles of 1877.

THE PROVISIONAL BATTERY (1877).

At the beginning of the disturbances Captain Franklin, by request of Inspector General Leigh O. Knapp, hauled his four brass guns to the Four Courts building, where it was thought they would be less liable to seizure by the

mob than if left in the coal yard. When the riots had reached an acute stage Governor Phelps thought it advisable to have some force which might be able to demolish barricades, and he directed the enrollment of a battery. He commissioned Charles W. Squires, an ex-Confederate officer who had served in the famous Washington Light Artillery of New Orleans, to command the artillery. Already about forty experienced artillerymen, veterans of the North and South, who were now members of the old 'National Guards'[1] or were among the citizens who had assembled at the Four Courts to be enrolled for police duty, had volunteered for artillery service. Squires assumed command of this body. Captain Franklin and the Simpson Battery — which it must be remembered was a private organization, and had been since 1875 — offered their services, but finding they would have to be enlisted with the other artillerymen and be under another officer, thus losing their identity as an organization, they decided to withdraw, and did. That was the end of the Simpson Battery.

The provisional artillery assembled July 23 for organization in the Four Courts building, but for want of available room adjourned to the jail yard, whereupon it began to rain. The gallows, however, afforded convenient shelter, and so under its shadow, the new battery was organized, with Squires as captain, J. R. Dougherty, first lieutenant, John O'Fallon Clark, second lieutenant, and P.

[1] The 'National Guards' was an infantry company that began in 1852 and for many years enjoyed great popularity. In its ranks was a superior class of men who always made an excellent showing on parade. The uniform was conspicuous for the tall 'bear-skin shako' hat, scarlet swallow-tailed coat, faced with blue, and white epaulets. The company was in the 'South West Expedition' (1860), but disbanded on the return to St. Louis at the outbreak of the Civil War, since the members were divided in their sympathies. During the War many of them gained distinction in the Northern and Southern armies. In 1872 the old members came together, buried the hatchet and reorganized the company. When the First Regiment was formed, as a result of the riots of 1877, the 'National Guards' became Co. A in the regimental organization.

H. Skipwith, Jr., first sergeant.[1] With an equipment of two Napoleon twelve-pounders, from the old 'National Guards' armory, the battery went into camp on Washington Park, where now stands the new City Hall. To distinguish the members from civilians each man wore a red flannel band on his hat. For ammunition, in the absence of shot and shell, tenpenny nails were sewed up in bags, but fortunately there was no occasion to use a shrapnel so vicious.

The provisional artillery command performed its most conspicuous service in breaking up at Schuler's Hall a meeting of the ringleaders of the riots. On the way to the hall the battery passed a saloon which was open in violation of the Mayor's orders, and some policemen were vainly trying to close it up. Sergeant Barnett of the battery taking a driver's snake whip rode his horse into the saloon and began laying round him so vigorously that the law-breakers ran for their lives. Arriving at the Hall, Captain Squires placed his two guns on the street so as to cover diagonally the front of the building. Guards were placed in the rear to cut off retreat. Some empty furniture vans in charge of police were backed up to the front doorway. Meanwhile the rioters in the windows above were jeering the militiamen. The batterymen stood at their guns ready to fire into the building. Captain Squires took out his watch and addressed the enemy. His was a

[1] The quartermaster sergeant was Joseph Bryan; the line sergeants, W. W. Childs, S. D. Winter, R. E. Williams and W. H. Barnett; the privates, C. H. Allen, J. D. Bantz, S. A. Bowen, Kenneth Bryan, Geo. S. Calhoun, B. G. Chapman, Chas. A. Clark, M. A. Cooper, W. H. Crawford, D. S. Crosby, M. Carleton, Dr. W. B. Dorsett, Jos. Dunlap, W. B. Edgar, B. Farrar, Dr. H. Fisher, J. D. Filley, T. Flannerly, F. R. Follett, R. W. Foster, V. Gibson, J. M. Glover, Dr. W. Glasgow, W. Grayson, A. M. Hargadine, S. F. Jamison, B. Jones, L. M. Kennett, B. Kimball, Dr. P. C. Lane, Arthur Lee, A. R. Lockwood, R. A. Luke, W. L. Maury, F. McCabe, J. H. McNamara, W. G. McRee, G. S. L. Mudge, W. A. Newman, C. O'Fallon, W. S. Reed, T. W. Risque, A. P. Saugrain, R. D. Saunders, O. Schulenberg, A. R. Smith, E. H. Sublett, J. K. Taylor, Mark Taylor, G. C. Thompson, E. Todd, Chas. Turner, E. D. Tutt, G. G. Tyler, A. J. Warner, T. A. Wash, J. A. Waterworth, L. M. Welton, and J. D. Worrell.

bold voice, all the more impressive on account of a stutter.

"I'll g-give you j-just three m-minutes," he said, "t-to c-c-come d-down out of there."

The business-like air of the veterans and the firm tone of the Captain persuaded the rioters that they had better take no chances. Before Squires had counted 'three,' they came tumbling down the stairs and out the doorway into the arms of the policemen, who hustled them into the vans. Then the motley cavalcade proceeded to the Four Courts. The affair at Schuler's Hall did more than anything else to check the disturbances in St. Louis.

LIGHT BATTERY "A," NATIONAL GUARD OF MISSOURI (1877–1898).

After the riots the merchants of the city urged that the battery be maintained permanently. It was accordingly mustered into the State service, with the same officers as above named, except that Clark was made a first lieutenant and Skipworth second lieutenant. When in the following year the organized militia of the several States was unified under a new law into what was designated as the 'National Guard,' the St. Louis battery took the official name of 'Light Battery "A," N. G. M.,' under which it has since been known, although it has the adjunct title of 'The St. Louis Light Artillery.'

The first permanent quarters of the Battery was established in the old Armory building, at Fourth street and Washington avenue, where Kennard's store now stands. In 1880 a serious fire in the building cost the life of the Battery's quartermaster-sergeant. The command then moved to the building of the St. Louis Riding School, or the 'Old Rink,' at Nineteenth and Pine streets, but that, too, caught fire and all of the equipment except two new guns and caissons was destroyed. After that the guns were parked in a vacant lot across the street till they were moved to a shed in the jail-yard, where they remained till

the completion of the armory at Eighteenth and Pine streets.

With veteran soldiers as its founders, Battery "A" naturally became a well-disciplined soldierly body. Captain Squires seems to have instilled into the men an enthusiasm, *esprit de corps*, or whatever it may be that holds together a volunteer company, and to such an extent indeed that it has been transmitted from one military generation to another through all the vicissitudes of the organization.

In 1878, upon the election of Captain Squires to the colonelcy of the First Regiment, and the resignation of Lieutenant Clark, Lieutenant Dougherty was made captain, P. S. Skipwith, Jr., and Samuel D. Winter, first lieutenants, and R. E. Williams, second lieutenant. Dougherty was succeeded as captain by Lieutenant Winter, in 1880. Ripley D. Saunders was elected second lieutenant, vice Williams promoted to first lieutenant. Captain Winter relinquished command in 1884 and Skipwith took his place, but in 1886 Winter rejoined as second lieutenant, Saunders having resigned.

During the 'eighties competitive drills among the National Guard companies were the vogue. Picked teams that drilled with the zeal of athletes went to one tournament after another, in various States, to win if possible trophies for their organizations. In those days of the muzzle-loading guns, artillery drill was active and spectacular. Just like the teams of the volunteer fire companies that could run a hundred yards, unreel a hose, make a coupling and throw a stream in so many seconds, the artillery gun sections, drilled for the purpose, could unlimber piece, fire so many shots, dismount piece, carriage and limber, in so many seconds; and every enthusiast had the latest record on the tip of his tongue. The drill team from the St. Louis Battery won a great many trophies, among them prizes in contests at St. Louis, Nashville, New Orleans, Houston, Jacksonville and Kansas City.

Owing to lack of support from the citizens and the absence of any appropriation whatsoever from the State, all of the

National Guard of Missouri was in 1887 disbanded. In the following year it was reorganized at the request of the merchants. The Battery chose as its new officers, Captain Samuel D. Winter, First Lieutenants R. E. Williams and H. P. Wilson, Second Lieutenant Frank M. Rumbold. A new equipment was secured, consisting of four three-inch Rodman rifles and a Gatling gun. In 1890, on the resignation of Captain Winter, R. E. Williams became captain, Lieutenant Rumbold was advanced one grade and Herbert M. Dix elected second lieutenant. The new office of first lieutenant and assistant surgeon was filled by the election of Dr. A. H. Ohmann-Dumesnil.

To show how the Battery was regarded in that day permit me to quote from a published interview of General Wesley Merritt, then in command of the Department of Missouri. Speaking of a drill he had just witnessed, he said, "That artillery drill.... was as good as any I have ever seen. It was much better than you will see at any military academy. I have had a great deal of experience in training artillery cadets, but I have never seen any cadets that could give as good an exhibition drill as [that] shown here to-night."

In 1891, following certain resignations, an election that was held gave the Battery the following officers: captain, Frank M. Rumbold; first lieutenants, H. M. Dix and James L. Johnson; second lieutenant, Louis D. Lawnin, and Dr. John B. Keber, surgeon. Lieutenant Dix resigning shortly afterward, those below him each gained one grade and F. W. Blelock was chosen second lieutenant. Dr. H. Kneedler succeeded Dr. Keber in 1897. John E. Weber was commissioned a second lieutenant in 1894, Jules Pogue in 1895 (on the promotion of Weber) and William J. Murray in 1896. Edward Bates Eno was elected first lieutenant in 1897 *vice* Johnson who became A. D. C. on the Brigade Staff.

As a matter of record merely it may be worth while to note that in the period preceding the Spanish war, the Battery participated in the following public ceremonies:

the funeral of General Sherman in 1892, the unveiling of the Columbus, Blair and Grant statues, the opening of the Merchants Bridge, the laying of the corner-stone of the new City Hall, besides taking part in many parades and firing salutes on many noteworthy occasions.

For reasons that need not here be alluded to, the Battery in 1896 withdrew from the general armory at Eighteenth and Pine streets, and established itself temporarily in a warehouse on Lucas avenue till more suitable quarters could be provided. In 1897, through the generosity of friends of the organization, ground was purchased at Grand avenue and Caroline street and plans prepared for the best appointed artillery armory in the country. As if impatent to settle down at the new permanent location the men themselves graded off the lot for drill space and erected a wooden shed, to which the equipment and lockers were at once removed. The prospect of trouble between this country and Spain aroused new interest in the National Guard and resulted in the accession of many new members. During the early spring of 1898, it was no uncommon thing on drill nights to see hundreds of spectators at the armory grounds.

BATTERY "A," MISSOURI VOLUNTEER ARTILLERY (SPANISH WAR, 1898).

On April 22, 1898, half a century after that adventurous, rollicking Batttery "A" of St. Louis, with its red trappings and big horse pistols, took the Santa Fé trail for the land of the Montezumas, and on the anniversary of the day Frank P. Blair's volunteers were enrolled, the news of the declaration of war against Spain brought all the batterymen in a hurry to the quarters. While others were absorbed in 'war extras' the modern artillerymen in overalls were pitching tents at the armory lot and a crowd of applicants surged into the shed clamoring to be enlisted. Forsaking their comfortable homes the men preferred to spend the night under canvas on the straw covered ground,

because a new generation was eager to taste its first war.

Jefferson Barracks having been appointed the rendezvous of the Missouri troops, a few mornings later a caravan of drays loaded high with camp chests, tents, poles and kitchen utensils, held in place by recumbent warriors, moved down Grand avenue in a drizzling rain. The outfit went into camp among the trees on the picnic grounds of Jefferson Barracks. The suggestion of picnic must have been accepted by the friends and relatives of the artillerymen if one might judge from the quantities of pie, cake and fruit, the succession of turkeys and bottled goods that daily poured into camp. With little to do but practice foot-drill of a morning and entertain guests of an afternoon, the fortnight at the Barracks, in spite of chilly nights and declining digestions, was a dream of military paradise.

On May 10 the Battery was taken into the United States service as 'Battery "A," Missouri Volunteer Artillery,' with a strength of one hundred and twenty-five men.[1] The officers were Captain Frank M. Rumbold, First Lieutenants John E. Weber and Edward Bates Eno, Second Lieutenant William J. Murray.[2] The first of the Missouri troops to be enlisted the batterymen were also the first to leave the State. On May 16 they boarded the cars for Chickamauga, but in order that the citizens and friends might give them a formal farewell, the train was run into Union Station for a few minutes, where followed a scene characteristic of all the wars in history. After tearful goodbyes and amid a din of cheers the train pulled out and a St. Louis battery was once again off to the wars.

At Chattanooga thousands of volunteers in troop trains sweltering in the heat were waiting for orders to go some-

[1] This number was afterwards increased to 175, by an accession of 50 recruits from St. Louis that joined at Camp Thomas, Chickamauga Park, in June, 1898.

[2] The battery not being entitled to a hospital corps in the U. S. service, Dr. Kneedler went to an infantry regiment.

where. The Battery train slid in among them and might have stayed on with the others had it not had a commanding officer who rustled out and secured proper authority to proceed to Chickamauga Park. Just before the Battery detrained at the Park a staff officer of the regular army happened to pass by the cars on an errand. Fifteen minutes later when he returned, he saw a bivouac camp of half a dozen conical tents at the side of the track, a fire blazing, pots of water boiling and every man quietly doing something. He stopped instantly.

"I didn't know there were any regulars in the neighborhood," said he to a guard, "what outfit is that?" "Battery 'A' of St. Louis," answered the guard. "Well, they know how to look out for themselves all right," he said, hurrying on.

The two months spent at Chickamauga was a course of instruction in the work of field artillery. Weary footdrills in the morning, under the broiling sun, had to be gone through with. Horses green to the service had to be broken in and their various idiosyncrasies, acquired on the plains, in the cornfield or on the gas-lit pavements of the city, beaten out of them by the snake whips of the drivers, themselves none too expert. New field pieces with complicated mechanism had to be mastered, the problem of how to keep the camp clean and healthy had to be solved, and the philosophy that makes a man cheerfully peel potatoes, when he would much rather put on his best uniform and go over to visit the cavalry, had to be learned. In short the innumerable arts of warfare, of which the fewest are connected with battle, had to be acquired little by little, often with turbulent impatience and a tendency to malign one's superiors, but on the whole with good natured obedience. As the weeks wore on, bringing news of successes at the front and no sign that the Battery was to have any part in the hostilities there was less solace in hard labor by day and the merry canteen by night. The dearth of news sometimes gave rise to idle rumors in the Battery street, few of which could be traced to their source,

and also to a slang term that has since been added to the language. 'Hot air,' a synonym for rarified information, escaped in volumes from the top of the tents and charged the atmosphere. Now and then a draft would blow it into the headquarters tent, and it is related that the old general commanding the artillery brigade spent a restless night, bemoaning the insanity of a rumored order that Battery "A" of St. Louis was to be made into flying artillery, brigaded with the rough riders and sent with a roving commission to the heart of Cuba. It was his dream to take the whole artillery brigade in the fall to invest and capture Havana. Imagine his chagrin therefore when one day came a real order for him to name his two best batteries for service in the Philippine Islands. Reluctantly he designated the St. Louis and Pittsburgh batteries, and then tried to find a way to have the order revoked. The commanders of those two batteries were agreed that they had no desire to cross the Pacific just 'to guard a lot of niggers' when there was to be real service in Havana. At their suggestion, therefore, the War Department was advised that none of the batteries were yet fit for active service. The Department revoked the order and sent instead the Utah Light Artillery, which became famous for its work in the trenches of Manila.

At last, however, there came a chance that looked promising. The Santiago campaign had been finished and General Miles was about to shift the seat of war to the island of Porto Rico. The bulk of the troops were to be volunteers. Great was the bustle in camp when Battery "A" of Missouri, Battery "A" of Illinois, Battery "B" of Pennsylvania and the 27th Indiana Battery, with Major George B. Rodney, U. S. A., as battalion commander, prepared to join the expedition. On the morning of July 24th, the battalion marched out the dusty pike, along which traveled General Thomas's thousands in the days of 'Sixty-three, to Rossville, Georgia, where guns, horses and men were stowed into cars. The journey across Kentucky and down through the Virginias to Newport News was a set of

moving pictures, with each scene a railroad station and each station a romance. As often as a train stopped, letters on the ends of sticks were poked into the car windows by girls flushed with patriotism and potential affection. Each letter, addressed to 'dear soldier,' containing a pressed flower and a compressed sentiment, with a request for a letter in reply, from the battlefield. By the end of the trip the brass buttons of the soldiers and their two days' rations of hard tack were being cherished as tokens in all the towns from Harrodsburg to Richmond.

"All outside," shouted the top sergeant.

In one swift movement pistol belts and canteens were grabbed up, blanket bags dragged from dark corners and slung over shoulders. The Battery jostled out in a great clatter of sabers and tin-cups into the glaring sunlight and strung along on the red hot ties in the yards at Newport News. Staggering under the heavy packs (it was a first campaign) the men fell into the swing and shuffled along into the town. The streets were filled with haggard, tired 'doughboys,' waiting in regiments. At the dockyards packs were unloaded, and through a congestion of boxes, barrels and horses, a way was found to the black side of a big ship. Up a ladder a line of men formed like a bucket brigade at a village fire. Haversacks, blanket bags, tent rolls, were passed from hand to hand, up over the side of the ship and dropped down the hatchways with a thud at the bottom of the hold. When the last pack had gone in, the current of energy was turned upon the supplies piled high on the wharf. Faltering, sweating toilers struggled up the gangplank and trickled back empty-handed through the channels of least resistance. The field pieces were dismantled and lifted by creaking ropes, followed by a succession of wheels, limber-chests, harness bags, bales of hay and wagon boxes, to the chuckling accompaniment of the winch-engine. It seemed as if the ship was gorged to the top, but a line of five hundred horses and mules moved inch by inch up the bridge and into the maw of the greedy

vessel, which gulped down the whole string. To be a stevedore for one day gives you an imperishable recollection of what is meant by a day's work. The stevedores of Battery "A" that night fell asleep in their tracks.

When the 'blue peter' was shaken out the next day, the good ship Roumanian (good ship by courtesy) started forth for the West Indies. A few soldiers remaining on the dock, shouted, 'good luck, fellows,' 'see you later,' 'give 'em hell,' and other pleasant farewells. Some ladies who were watching another boat casually waved their handkerchiefs, perhaps to make the artillerymen feel better, but the artillerymen felt all right. In the wake of the transport fleet the Roumanian steamed down the Roads, the rail and rigging alive with bareheaded lads wildly waving their hats and bandanas, in recognition of cheers from the jackies on the men-of-war at anchor. It was really good to be off to the front.

Since the days of 'Ninety-eight there has been a revolution in the American transport service, until now we have the best on the seas. But the record of Battery "A" in the Spanish War is not complete without some mention of the way it voyaged to Porto Rico in that hot July. The sleeping quarters were at the bottom of the 'black hole,' reached by a crude ladder that ran down through the port hatches, past two decks of horses, into the darkness. Hammocks were hung at night in double tiers between rows of upright posts, and so close together that elbows touched. If one had a lower hammock he could hit the man above him with 'short-arm blows,' a useful expedient when a heavy foot spilled over. After the men were settled for the night the net-work of ropes and hammocks made the place impassable. The air was hot and stifling and the sight of the mass of legs and arms protruding in all directions, in the dismal half-gloom from the lantern, recalled Dore's pictures of the Inferno. The ship having been used for years as a cattle boat, the reminiscent odor combined with the smell of bilge water and stale provisions can convey no adequate appreciation by mere description.

From the cracks in the boards that covered temporarily the rough bottom a dark slime oozed and made the footing insecure. One could hardly stay there without feeling giddy, but that is where the men were expected to sleep and eat. A soldier found on deck after taps had sounded was summarily ordered below, on penalty of arrest. To escape the black hole it was worth the risk to find a hiding place on deck. Wonderful ingenuity was displayed or rather concealed in baffling the officer of the guard. Only the guard relief and the sick men were allowed to sleep on deck. Yet with a friendly sergeant in charge, it was sometimes possible to merge oneself into the guard.

"Sergeant," said the officer one night, early on the voyage, "seems to me you have a pretty large guard."

"Only twelve, Sir," replied the sergeant.

"Well, you'd better check up and get rid of the surplus."

As the officer passed on, shadowy figures immediately rolled out from the row of sleeping guards, under the main boom, over to the port side of the deck and became lost among the invalids.

A sorrier, more disreputable lot of men than the crew of civilian sailors, it would be hard to find, but they were exalted enough to have pity for the soldiers, with whom in many cases they shared their rough food and the hospitality of the filthy forecastle. There a soldier could remain hidden, but usually he made it merely a base of operations from which to explore the upper region after midnight, and if unobserved steal a nap on the bare deck in the midst of seamen and stokers, who had the freedom of the ship. But the officer of the guard, lantern in hand, would thread his way among the sleepers looking for soldiers. Only those escaped who were sly enough to disguise themselves in garments borrowed from the sailors.

The ship being shorthanded, soldiers were asked to volunteer for stoker duty. The reward was food: three portions of sailor's stew a day. The temptation to get something beside weevily hard-tack, spoiled canned beef

and rotten tomatoes, drew many a sturdy lad to the fire-room. At the end of a shift the door of the stokers' hole would be burst open by grimy chested fellows, dripping with sweat, who would drop to the deck gasping for breath. Few of the soldiers could stand the test for more than one shift, although the promise of food was hard to resist.

The water supply provided for the men was warm and polluted. The steward of the boat made a nice profit selling ice water at ten cents a glass and warm beer at half a dollar a bottle, till stopped by the commanding officer. One group of men paid a dollar a head to one of the under-cooks for a share of the leavings from the officers' mess. In the shadow of a life-boat every night, these men ravenously dived into the contents of a basket, the darkness charitably concealing its guise.

The sanitary arrangements or disarrangements of the ship transcend all description. Let it be said in short that the Roumanian was considered the very worst transport that ever went out, and its faults were added to by the incompetence of the captain-quartermaster in charge, who it is a pleasure to say afterward went to jail, and by the indifference, to put it mildly, of a regular army martinet, who confessed no love for volunteers, but might have, if he chose, somewhat ameliorated their condition.

In spite of the hardships of the voyage there were one or two compensations that indicated Providence at least was on the side of the soldiers. For one thing the sea was as smooth as a mirror, for another, the ship did not take fire and burn up. During the day the men lay sprawled on the deck or on bales of hay, rolling cigarettes and scanning the horizon for Spanish gun-boats. With no available armament and a speed that would have made a snail blush, the vessel offered an easy mark for an enemy alive to his opportunities. A gun-boat with a single gun could have made merry with the Roumanian. Her helplessness became the more evident when after a week's run, in rounding the southwestern corner of Porto Rico, she grounded upon a hidden reef. The skipper not only was

ignorant of the waters but had no reliable charts. After several ineffectual attempts by sister transports to pull the Roumanian off the reef, a full tide considerately released her.

After a night spent in Guanica harbor, where a few days earlier the initial invasion had been made, the transport continued down the coast to Ponce, and then by orders to Arroyo, a little port at the extreme southeastern corner, where General Brooke was awaiting the artillery before beginning the advance northwardly to San Juan. Just before reaching Arroyo, there was visible some distance back from the shore a town softly outlined against the green hills. Through the glasses could be seen a red and yellow flag, flying just like any other flag. It was a fascinating sight and everyone wanted to borrow the glasses.

The disembarkation at Arroyo consumed a whole week owing to the great mass of supplies and the difficulty of getting them ashore. As the harbor was open and shallow it was necessary to use lighters to freight the goods. A choppy sea that had followed the calm made the work hazardous. One lighter full of supplies was upset in the surf and many articles lost. Some of the horses crazed by the voyage jumped overboard and tried to swim back to the United States, till captured with boat hooks by men in launches and guided ashore.

A camp was established in the outskirts of the town, presumably in the face of the enemy. The infantry sentries on outpost were taking occasional cracks at Spaniards supposed to be lurking in the grass, but investigation invariably developed that the target was a goat or bunch of leaves waving in the breeze.

Before daylight on August 13, 'reveille' was sounded, quickly followed by 'boots and saddles.' By sunrise the field was stripped bare, the horses hooked to the guns and all the cannoneers in marching order. A lively strain of the bugle lifted into the saddle half a hundred bare-armed drivers and another set in motion the cavalcade of jangling artillery, which rumbled over the furrows of the cane-field to

the highway where it became part of a larger force. The onward movement had begun. Looking along the line of gray sombreros churning to the motion of the horses could be seen at intervals the fluttering scarlet guidons marking the several batteries, the sight of which always quickens the pulse of the true artilleryman, and the field artillery, as he will tell you, is the cream of the service.

The line of march led through a broad valley, along the barbed edge of cane-fields and now and then jumped a lively stream. The broken masonry in place of bridges showed the trail of the retreating foe and the freshly cut descents to the fords the trail of our pioneers. In places the heavy tropical foliage hung over the road, keeping out the sunshine, and there the mud from recent rains almost stopped the procession. Down would go a wheel to the hub, drawing with it a struggling wheel-horse. Then came shouts of 'hi, you, get that hand-spike,' 'slip it under there,' 'now everybody on the wheels — beef!' And with the drivers yelling like savages and jabbing their spurs, up would come the limber to firm ground, yanking the gun after it and both wagging from side to side like geese in tandem.

From a rise in the road was a view of the town of Guayama just captured by the infantry. It was the same town discovered from the ship, but the red and yellow flag of Spain had been replaced by Old Glory. As the column pushed through the street a black population in doorways stretched its neck like the countryside on circus day.

The force moved on toward the hills and followed a road up the side of a mountain. At a stone bridge which, curiously enough, was still intact, a halt was made while a reconnoitering party went on ahead. No one knew then that a hostile charge of dynamite was under the bridge ready to be exploded by spies when the last of the Americans had passed and so block a retreat. Ignorant of all

this the men dismounted and lit up cigarettes. A quartet in the second section struck up its favorite ditty:

> "I was seated one day in a gilded café,
> By a window that looked on the street,"

and the men of the other sections shouted their usual comments. The bugle interrupted the merriment and the drivers swung into their saddles. Once more the train was bending forward. The road was now along a shelf on the mountain side. Far below was a stretch of green valley dotted with thatched huts. Natives with ox-carts filled with plunder were observed hurrying off in the distance. Behind through an opening in the range was visible a patch of blue sea. Beyond, the road made an abrupt turn. The column halted and every one noted an active movement ahead. They were unlimbering the first guns and running them forward by hand. Away across on the top of another hill could just be discerned a blockhouse over which there waved a defiant red and yellow flag. Men carrying something in their arms were going down into trenches. It was a sight to come two thousand miles to see.

"Load!" rang out a clear voice and all down the line ran a tremor of excitement. The gunner of the first piece was training it on the blockhouse and the cannoneers were busily making ready. Watching the lanyard straighten in the hand of a cannoneer who was waiting for the word, everybody's heart stood still. Not a breath was drawn.

Just as something was about to happen there was a counter-excitement down at the rear end of the column. Drivers were forcing their horses back against the hill-side to let pass a man on a mule who was riding wildly up the road, waving a paper in his hand and swerving like a drunkard. The batterymen shrunk back as he tore past them to the head of the column where he tumbled off and thrust the paper into the face of the General, who was standing near the loaded gun. General Brooke gave the paper a quick glance and raised a protesting hand to the

gunner. Wireless telegraphy had not been invented yet but every man in the outfit knew at once that the war was over.

The guns were limbered up and the artillerymen who had so buoyantly marched up the hill, now with dark faces marched down again. As soon as speech returned the cannoneers began a loud denunciation of the drivers for failing to hold back the messenger of peace till at least one shot had been sent over the chasm. A broader view, however, was that the signal corps had been indecently efficient in bringing so promptly the news of the protocol. On that day history was cheated out of three different battles in Porto Rico, each of which would have rivaled in magnitude the assault of El Caney at Santiago. Yet it may be some consolation to know that several hundred lives were saved, for subsequent inspection of the Spanish works showed they were admirable and experts said that a thousand Americans similarly entrenched might have held the pass against a whole army corps.

The natives of Guayama wept with joy at the return of the Americans, hailing them as deliverers. At the edge of this town in a large sugar hacienda the troops settled down to await the wishes of the government. At the same time the rainy season began. With no further prospect of war, no knowledge of when they were to return home, and not much to do on account of the rain, the men fretted in their tents and plotted various kinds of evil at the expense of discipline. By night a line of communication was kept open between camp and a hogshead of rum that was found in the plantation warehouse. Many became proficient in escaping to town in order to study the manners and customs of the habitants. Yet the chief interest was in finding things to eat. In the Mexican War the St. Louis Battery lived entirely off the country and so it did in the Spanish War, when it could, although it seldom descended to the methods of the brigand, preferring the more modern methods of the commercial adventurer. Pieces of hard-tack became the medium of exchange

and filled the larders of the men with native loaves, bananas, limes, mangoes and 'dulce cocoa,' a confection of brown sugar and cocoanut. One hard-tack was exchangeable for one cigar, but an inflation of the currency raised the exchange to two hardtacks. Then the government practically demonetized the hard-tack by reducing it to the size of an oyster cracker, lifting the ratio to more than sixteen to one.

When as a result of enforced idleness the discontent in the Battery had reached a climax, the commanding officer with his usual fertility of mind decided to have a macadam road built through the camp. The rock had to be hauled three miles and then broken. The men of the Battery had already been stevedores, hostlers, teamsters, cooks, ditch-diggers, and almost everything but warriors in battle, and now they were reduced to working on the streets. Yet they were happier doing something and could get amusement out of any situation. They called the newly paved street 'Hot Air Boulevard,' and put up signs offering choice lots for sale.

Native children frequented the camp in droves. They came first out of curiosity but after they had become somewhat Americanized they brought things to sell. Many of them grew so fond of the soldiers that they took service with them as valets, at the nominal salary of one cent, or its hard-tack equivalent, a day. They washed the tinware, fetched canteens of water, stood guard over the private pantries and went to town on errands. With the attachments that sprung up between the soldiers and Porto Rican señoritas I might fill a volume. I should like particularly to relate the romance of a flaxen-haired driver and a certain native damsel, but already I have consumed too much space with matters non-military.

As unforeseen as one of the bolts from the clear tropical sky came the pleasant shock of tidings that the artillery battalion was ordered to return to the United States to be mustered out of service. The bright sunshine that favored the beginning of the overland march to Ponce was quickly

turned into 'battery weather.' It was proverbial that whenever Battery "A" made a move of any kind the occasion was celebrated by a descent of rain. As it was the season when there were five or six storms a day, there may have been no special significance. The road along the south shore was a sea of mud and the air was hot and sticky. Yet the men and horses ploughed bravely through the mud, often up to their knees. When the column turned into the Hacienda Carman to bivouac for the night it had a good twenty-five miles to its credit. The men ate a ravenous meal and spread their blankets under the cart sheds to enjoy a rest that not even the noise of a drunken wake, being held by some natives, could disturb. On the second day the clouds were more friendly, but the mud had stiffened to the consistency of glue. In many places the roads were almost impassable. So tenacious was the mud that it was no uncommon thing to see a six-horse team actually straining to pull a heavy gun-carriage down hill. When it is considered that the average march for artillery over good roads is from fifteen to twenty miles a day, the feat of accomplishing the fifty miles from Guayama to Ponce in two days over such a road seems truly remarkable, and strange to say there was no apparent reason for the haste. In many ways that march was the most noteworthy incident of the campaign.

A dirty, bedraggled aggregation of artillery wound its way through the narrow streets of the city of Ponce. Warned by the clanking chains, rumble of wheels and the hoofbeats on the hard pavement, the citizens rushed to the windows and doorways to gape in astonishment. Contrasted with the jaunty little Spanish soldiers the big easy going Americanos clad in greasy overalls, soiled cotton undershirts and shapeless sombreros, adorned with cabalistic signs and toothbrushes, were inscrutable creatures.

While waiting to go aboard ship the artillery went into camp on the San Juan Road across the Rio Portuguese opposite the city. It was called 'Camp Centipede,' because of the many centipedes that infested the tents.

Their bite was found to be harmless if proper antidotes were at hand. The surgeon having laid in a good supply of antidote, bites were frequent. A mile or so away was a resort known as 'Los Baños,' where one could get a bath and a drink. But a nearer bathing place was the river shore. There one might have a swim and get his clothes washed at the same time, for many lavanderas were always waiting on the bank to pick up an honest centavo. They pounded and dragged the garments over the pebbles and then spread them to dry on the grass. When the soldier emerged from his bath he was handed his clothes clean and dry, and the lavandera was handed her centavo.

I should like to say more about the life of the batterymen on the Island, particularly the festive evenings on the Plaza in Ponce, when the band played and the fashion of the town promenaded, but the limits of this paper are already exceeded. The Battery turned over its horses to the regulars and went aboard the transport 'Concho.' A homeward bound streamer a hundred feet long was thrown to the breeze and the St. Louisans bade good-bye to the tropics.

Compared with the other boat the 'Concho' was a palace and better still the men were given the freedom of the decks. The spirits of all ran high at the prospect of home, which neither the roughness of the passage (it was the hurricane season) nor ill-health could diminish. The rations were unsuitable, of course, but extra food had been bought privately out of the Battery fund, representing the profits of the beer canteen at Chickamauga during the early summer.[1]

On the morning of September 15, the 'Concho' ran into New York harbor. While the quarantine officers were

[1] The canteen earned for the Battery fund about $800, which was expended from time to time, as opportunity offered, in supplementing the regular rations with fruit, milk, butter, eggs, fresh vegetables and other palatable food to the great benefit of the health and morale of the men. During the existence of the canteen cases of intoxication were least frequent.

aboard, every sick man was made by his comrades to stand in line with the result that the boat got a clean bill of health and was allowed to land.[1] Coming up the inner harbor the tugs and ferry boats blew a welcoming blast and the crowds of passengers going over to the city cheered and waved to the home-coming soldiers. On the dock at Weehawkan was assembled a large party of friends who had come on to greet the Battery. It was long after midnight before the last bit of equipment and impedimenta had been transferred from the boat to the cars, and the journey westward begun.

The crowd of St. Louisans that had seen the Battery off four months before was but a corporal's guard compared with the immense throng that filled Union Station on the night of September 17. Men and women fought the police and themselves to gain places of vantage as the train came in. The cheer that rose nearly lifted the roof. A way was forced through the crowd while the Mayor and reception committee led the artillerymen toward the dining room. Grabbed by friends and relatives the men could hardly preserve ranks. The banquet that followed was munificent, but the digestions of the men were weak. They could eat scarcely a thing, but they wept at the sight of real food.

The Battery went into camp, nominally, at Jefferson Barracks, but only a small guard was kept there as all were given a sixty days' furlough preparatory to the muster-out. On November 30, in a blustering snow-storm the men of 'Battery "A," Mo. Vol.', thin and yellow from tropical service, stood shivering in line on the parade ground of Jefferson Barracks, while the mustering-out ceremony was performed. So ended the campaign of the only Missouri organization that left the country during the Spanish War.

[1] Malaria and other tropical ailments had attacked many of the men. One had died in Ponce on the day the transport sailed. Two others, who were sent home on a hospital ship, died also, one at sea and the other a few days after landing. Six men who were too ill to return with the Battery were left in a hospital at Ponce, but were soon able to follow.

LIGHT BATTERY "A," N. G. M. (1898–1904).

On the release of its members from the volunteer service, the National Guard Battery "A" again took up its thread of life, with its old personnel of officers and men, and a legacy of recruits from the volunteer organization.

During the winter following the Spanish War, drills were dispensed with by common consent. Five months of severe field work and the effect of a summer spent in the unhealthy tropics had left the men in a depressed condition of mind and body. Naturally they felt very little enthusiasm for military exercise. Of infinitely more interest at this time was the partial realization of the long cherished dream of having a suitable home for the Battery.

Moved to do something substantial by way of reward for an organization that had creditably represented the city, a number of generous citizens in the fall of 1898 subscribed liberally to the armory building fund, assuming a burden that rightly belonged to the State. Sufficient money was raised to begin at once the erection of the structure. The work continued till the initial fund was exhausted. Then at the suggestion of the managers of the projected world's fair, who wanted a clear field for soliciting subscriptions, the friends of the Battery paused in their quest for money, and the armory for the time being remained unfinished.[1]

[1] It is a great reproach to the State of Missouri that its National Guard has invariably received such niggardly treatment from the General Assembly that the organizations have had to beg money from citizens for armory and maintenance purposes. Except for private aid the military organizations of St. Louis must long since have disbanded. This condition has put a severe strain upon public-spirited citizens but the business men of St. Louis must be credited with having come time and again to the rescue of the local military organizations.

The State of Missouri has usually appropriated $10,000 a year for its entire National Guard. $25,000 was appropriated for each of the years 1903 and 1904, because of extra service expected in connection with the World's Fair at St. Louis. A comparative statement of National Guard appropriations for the year 1903 in various States follows:

California	$132,000	New Jersey	$175,000
Connecticut	130,000	New York	575,000
Illinois	230,000	Ohio	195,000
Massachusetts	325,000	Pennsylvania	355,000
Michigan	90,000	Wisconsin	100,000
Missouri	25,000		

The insurrection in the Philippines in 1899 made necessary a call for fifty thousand volunteers. As the levy was composed solely of infantry, the Battery itself had no chance to cross the Pacific for a new campaign. But the call to arms could not be resisted by some of the members, with the result that the Captain, Frank M. Rumbold, and First Lieutenant John E. Weber resigned their commissions in the Battery to take service as captains in the United States Volunteer Infantry. Others also obtained commissions in the volunteer or regular forces, and a few enlisted. The Battery had in all about twenty representatives in the Army of the Philippines.

First Lieutenant Edward Bates Eno was elected commanding officer to succeed Captain Rumbold. There were now two vacancies in the grade of first lieutenant, which were filled early in 1900 by the election of Second Lieutenant W. J. Murray and Sergeant Henry A. Boeckeler. Dr. Louis T. Pim was elected assistant surgeon, with rank of first lieutenant. Shortly afterward, Herbert J. MacGinnitie, who had been first sergeant during the Spanish War, was chosen Second Lieutenant, but he resigned within a few weeks.

During the regime of Captain Eno the Battery participated in the brigade encampment at Springfield (1900) and made some valuable practice marches in St. Louis County. Lieutenant Boeckeler resigning in 1901, E. O. Sanguinet was elected first lieutenant. Leonidas M. Gloor was elected to the office of second lieutenant. Captain Eno's health having necessitated his removal from St. Louis, he resigned his commission in 1901, leaving Lieutenant Murray in command.

The return of Captain Rumbold in June from the Philippines, where he had gained distinction for gallantry and highly efficient service, made him the natural selection of the men for commanding officer. He was unanimously re-elected to his old position. No other changes in the personnel of the officers has taken place since, except the

resignation of Lieutenant Gloor, filled by the election of V. M. Porter, in 1902.

Under the enthusiastic leadership of Captain Rumbold, the Battery now fully recuperated from the effects of its arduous service in 'Ninety-eight began to acquire new life. Indeed, it may be said that a period of expansion set in at about this time. The task of getting new subscriptions for the armory building fund was taken up again with success. Work on the armory was resumed and has continued with only slight interruptions ever since but although eighty thousand dollars so far has been expended nearly as much more will be needed before it can be completed.

In 1903 the Battery received direct from the Government a full new battery equipment, with guns more modern than those it used in the Spanish War, and also a complete cavalry equipment, for the purpose of permitting the organization to act as cavalry whenever occasion arises. By the passage of the so-called 'Dick Bill,' the Government has put the National Guard on a new and better footing. With liberal appropriations from Congress for ordnance and other supplies, pay while on duty and joint field manoeuvres with the regular army, the 'Organized Militia' or 'National Guard' is rapidly becoming what it is now intended to be — an efficient reserve or second line to the Army. If the State would do its part, in providing more money for armories, target ranges, practice marches and for current expenses the improvement of the National Guard as a whole would be even more marked. As it is, the State that neglects its Guard in time of peace need not be disappointed if in time of war its troops are relegated to the rear. Such however has been the *esprit de corps* of Battery "A" and its good fortune in having capable leadership, that it has always been able with or without State support to preserve its efficiency and hold an enviable place in the estimation of the War Department. Battery "A," or 'Rumbold's Battery,' as it is frequently designated outside of St. Louis, has become widely and favorably known in military circles throughout the country.

Within the year the Lieutenant General of the United States Army, writing from Washington, has seen fit to remark that the St. Louis Battery is the best he has seen outside of the regular service.[1] However that may be, the people of St. Louis may be assured that their Battery is always ready, at one hour's notice, to take the field for active service, at home or abroad, and that it will endeavor to live up to its best traditions.

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[1] Letter of Lt. Gen. S. B. M. Young to Capt. F. M. Rumbold.

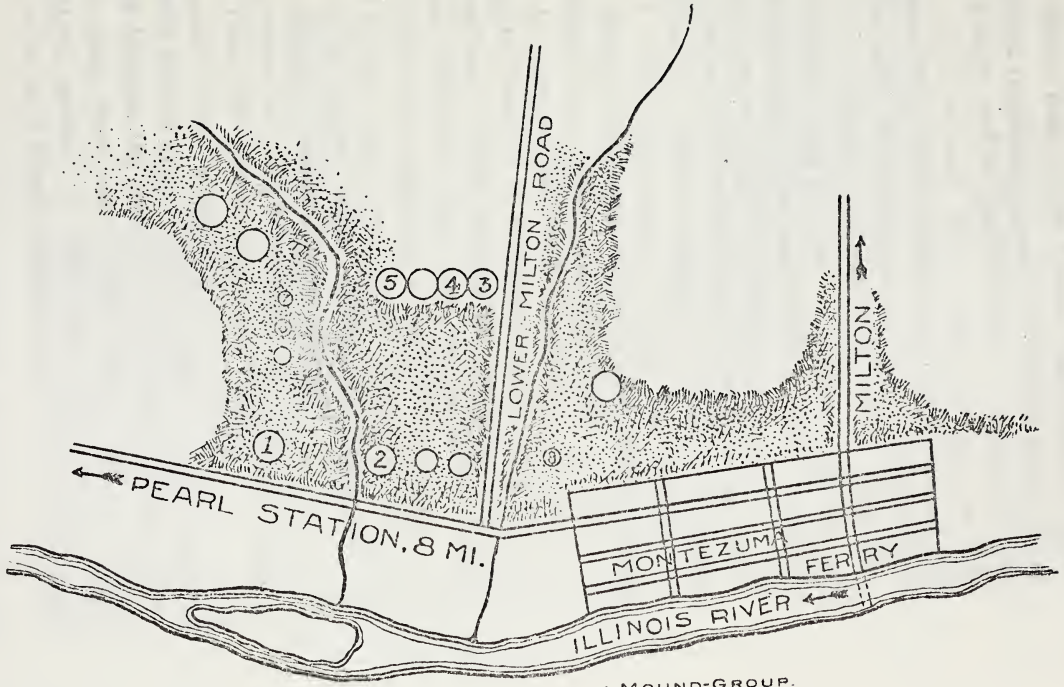

FIGURE 1.—THE MONTEZUMA MOUND-GROUP.

The Montezuma Mounds.

About Montezuma, on the Illinois River, sixty miles north of Grafton, the native rock is the Lower Carboniferous Limestone containing a remarkable quantity of crinoid stems. There is also much foreign rock of glacial origin. A strip of alluvial bottom land, which for more than a mile will vary but little either way from 100 yards in width, lies between the river and the hills. The latter, in most places, present a fairly uniform slope from top to bottom; but just north of the town, low, vertical cliffs appear along the foot. Loess covers upland and hills except where it has been washed away. In the limestone, mostly in the form of irregular masses, is much chert. It is neither stratified nor concretionary, but fractures in any direction indifferently, with no evidence of a point of origin. Structually it varies from coarsely cellular, like buhrstone or even more spongy, to compact, almost glassy varieties which in some instances are typical chalcedony and in others are scarcely to be distinguished from novaculite. Extremes of texture may be observed in a single piece of moderate size; on the other hand, blocks suitable for chipping into implements several inches in length are not uncommon. There probably exist in the neighborhood localities where the chert was mined to some extent; but if there are any such quarries they have so far escaped notice. Possibly the banks and beds of ravines afforded a supply of raw material.

At the present day, and presumably to a greater degree in aboriginal times, the bottom land is very fertile; nut trees of various species grow in profusion; the Illinois is the most noted fishing stream in the country; while in the expanse of three miles between the river and the bluffs, opposite Montezuma, are many lakes and sloughs which in spring and autumn contain myriads of migrating water fowls. Every requisite to an ideal Happy Hunting Ground was here, ready to hand.

Our aboriginal predecessors evidently took the same view of the situation. Thousands of objects made by them are found in all the counties along the lower course of the river, while their mounds are to be seen on nearly every bluff and foothill.

M.H.S.C., No. 5.

On the farm of N. D. McEvers, extending west and south from Montezuma, are fifteen mounds of various sizes, whose relative position is shown approximately in the accompanying diagram (Figure 1). All of them are built on the summits or ends of ridges whose natural surface slopes in one or more directions, so that none of the mounds have a level base. Consequently both the diameter and the apparent height of each

FIGURE 2.—THE LARGE MONTEZUMA MOUND (NUMBER ONE).

one varies considerably, according to the point from which it is viewed. In this report, figures denoting height or depth are measured on a vertical line from apex to base, which line is assumed to be the center, though by reason of the unevenness mentioned the distance to the margin of the mound may not be the same toward every side. The measurement of the space covered by the structure is the average diameter; while none of them has a circular base, it is plain that no other form was sought.

Eight of the mounds were excavated, in the order shown by the attached numbers.

Number One.—This stood on the eastern end of a low ridge, sloping steeply to south and north. The ridge terminates in a bluff not more than fifty feet higher than the bottom land at its foot. When intact the mound was 24 feet high and 130 feet in diameter. A partial exploration was made in May, 1905, under the supervision of N. D. McEvers, D. I. Bushnell, and J. M. Wulfing, who cut a trench through it from east to west, the northern side coincident with the apex. Figure 2 shows the mound as it appeared at the beginning of their work. They had not time to complete the work in accordance with the importance of the structure, and in September of the same year Gerard Fowke was detailed to make such further investigation as would be found desirable. He was also instructed to excavate some, or all, of the other mounds constituting the group. The two partial reports of the first mound are here consolidated as if the work had been continuous.

Throughout all that portion of the mound examined were found numerous potsherds, many of them showing a high standard of workmanship and quite elaborate decoration, as may be seen in Figure 3; mussel shells, some perforated for the attachment of a handle that they might be used as hoes and other utensils; animal bones; ashes and charcoal; and many flint chips and fragments. At a depth of 21 feet an obsidian flake two inches in length as well as two smaller ones; a perfect flint spear-point two and one-half inches long; and several fragments of mica,—were discovered. Twenty-two feet down was encountered decayed wood and bark several inches in thickness. Under this layer was a burial cist or crib 15 feet from north to south, 7 feet east to west, and 20 inches high. It was built of white oak logs, the openings chinked with green clay such as may be found outcropping in various ravines near by. The bottom of the cist was a layer of bark which had been placed on the original surface. On this as a floor, covering nearly the entire space enclosed, rested 1,197 chipped leaf-shaped blades, three and one-half to six inches long, three to four and one-half inches in breadth, every one of them carefully wrought and in as perfect condition as when it left the artist's hands. Most of them are white or nearly so; some are red or pink, others a mingling of white,

black and red, in varying proportions, the diversity of coloring being due to oxidation of included iron and perhaps other mineral substance. Not a single concretionary formation exists in the entire lot, the material being the chert so abundant in this geological formation, or stone of the same nature from

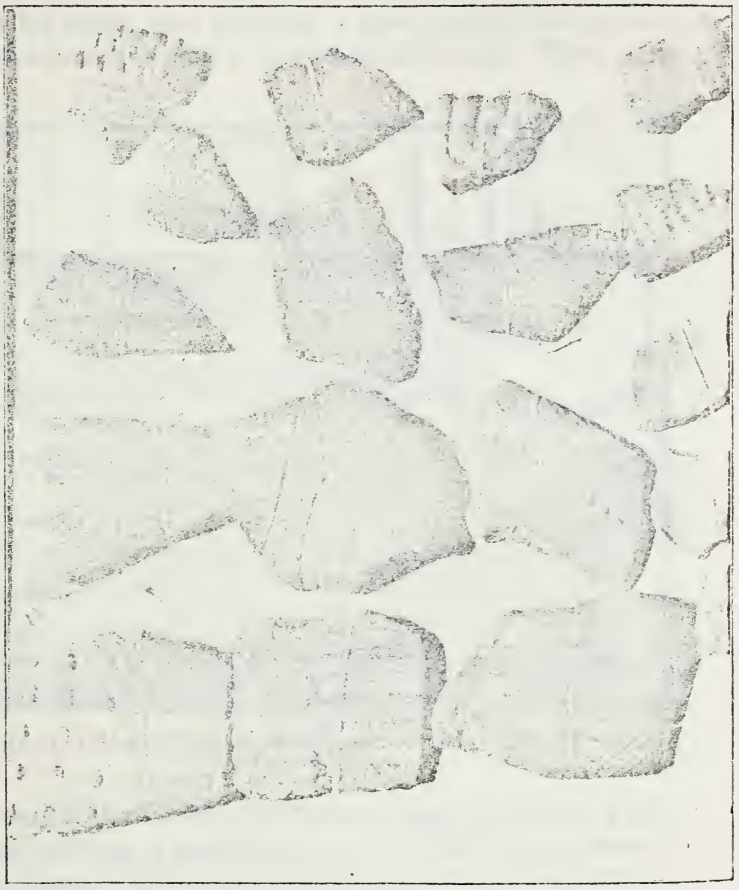

FIGURE 3.—DECORATIONS ON POTTERY FROM MOUND NUMBER ONE.

other localities. The figures given above represent the entire number secured by the excavators; possibly some others were carried away by visiting bystanders. Nearly all of these are deposited in the museum of the Missouri Historical Society, where they fill a large case as shown in Figure 4.

At the south end of the cist was a skeleton nearly six feet in length, face downward, head west; a few inches south of the skull were two perforators, made from the metapodal bones of the elk; they measured respectively eleven and one-half and twelve and one-half inches in length, and were without a flaw. A foot north of the skull was a massive inferior maxillary, resting on three pink blades; no other bones were near it. Nearly in the center of the cist was a large bundle of human leg bones, upon which lay a skull partially painted red; near these was a deposit of pearl and shell beads. There were

FIGURE 4.—LEAF-SHAPED DISKS OF CHERT FROM MOUND NUMBER ONE.

forty-two of the former, the largest weighing fifty-two grains and still showing a beautiful luster. The shell beads, seventy-two in number, were made from the thicker parts of conch or other large sea shells. They measured from half an inch to an inch and a half long, cylindrical, barrel-shaped, or double truncate-conical, all drilled lengthwise and highly polished.

Almost the entire bottom of the cist was covered with human bones, mostly in very poor preservation; they generally indicated skeleton burials, being deposited promiscuously.

Among them were four perfect elk bone perforators eight to twelve and one-half inches long, nineteen broken ones of which the parts were secured, and a number of fragments indicating about twenty-five others. Six of these are represented in Figure 5. There was also a finely wrought, well-polished spoon made of a large mussel shell. Near the north end of the cist was the outer whorl of a Cassidoria shell eleven

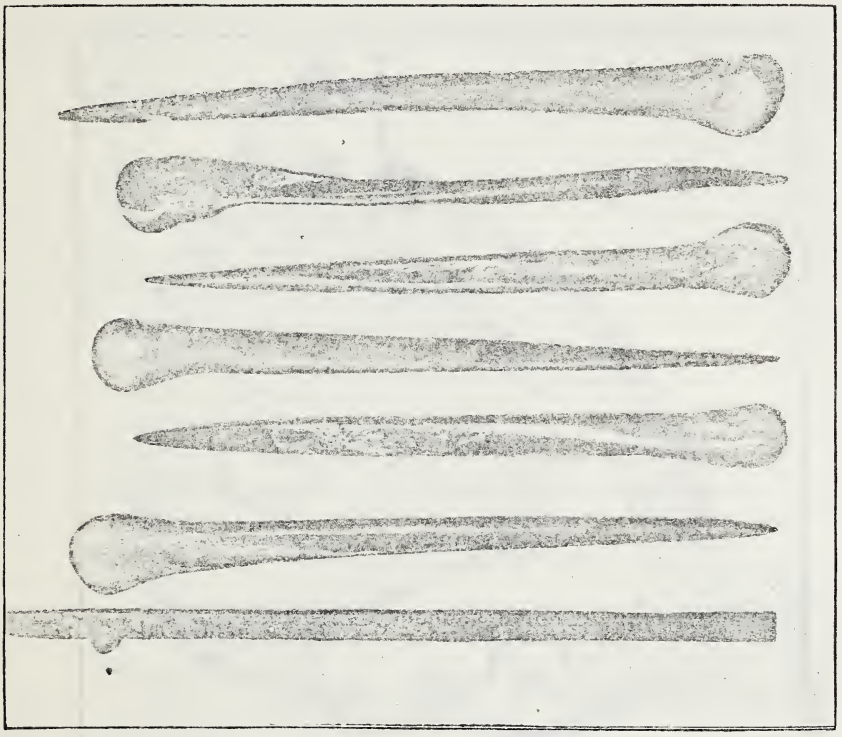

FIGURE 5.—PERFORATORS MADE FROM THE METAPODAL BONES OF THE ELK, FROM MOUND NUMBER ONE.

and one-half inches long, polished over the entire outer surface; possibly the columella and inner whorls had been worked up into beads or other ornaments. It is reproduced here as Figure 6. At two points east of this were small piles of bunched human bones, among which lay some flat or disk shell beads with a single perforation at the center. Of considerable interest were fragments of two small rings with a groove around the outer circumference and minute holes

drilled through at intervals. A few of these so-called "pulley-rings" are met with in Ohio mounds, but it is somewhat of a surprise to find them here.

The original trench reached only to the inner side of the cist along its northern margin. The untouched earth showed a large admixture of decayed wood, ashes, and green clay. In order to be sure nothing was overlooked, the entire central

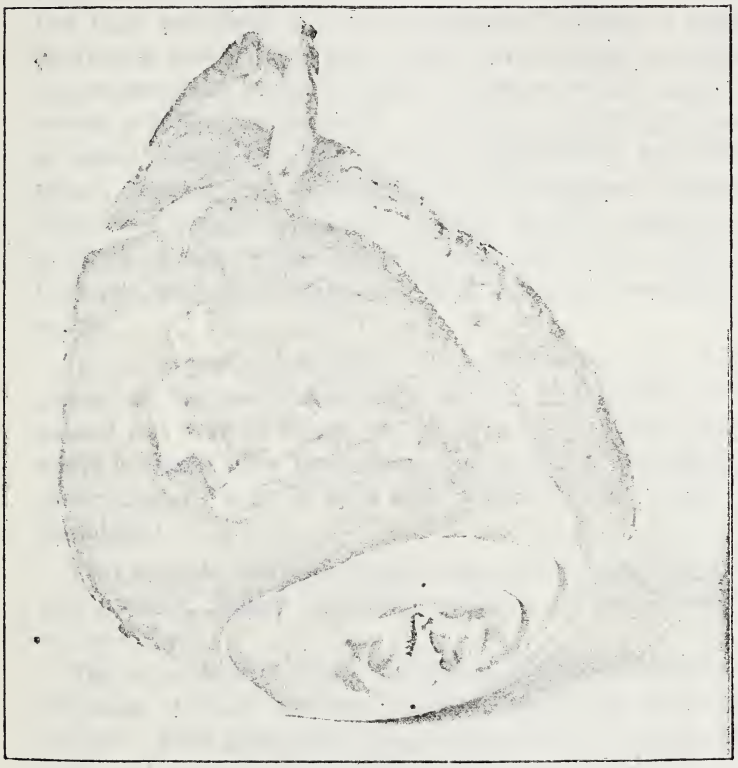

FIGURE 6.—CASSIDORIA SHELL FROM MOUND NUMBER ONE

part of the mound was removed. It was found that the ends of the logs, at the corners, projected several feet beyond the cist. These were followed, partly by undercutting, north and south, until the trench was 30 feet wide at the bottom; but no trace of burial was found, nor any indication that the mound was constructed for any other purpose than to cover the one cist. As they now stand, the walls of the trench only

show the earth that was piled up by the builders as they gathered it from the surface near by. The separate loads, each about a peck in volume, are plainly marked by lenticular outlines, which the various colors bring out as distinctly as if they were painted. Excavation in this mound was not at all difficult; much of it was sand or sandy loam, and none of it was hard or sticky.

Number Two.—This is situated on a slight slope about 100 yards north of Number One, and at the same level. It is nine feet high and about 100 feet in diameter. There is a slight depression east of the apex, which was thought to indicate the existence of a cist or vault of timbers whose decay had caused a settling of the earth. A trench was run from north to south. About the center, on the original level, were human bones, decayed and crushed until only fragments remained. There was sufficient, however, to show that the skeletons only of three or four individuals had been placed here, each in a little pile, and all of them on a space not more than four feet across.

It was a part of the plan of excavation to carry a cross trench to the east through the surface depression; but the mound was built of tough clay, hard to dig as frozen ground, while it would have been almost impossible to save skuils or other contents even if they were found; so the mound was abandoned.

Two mounds north of Number Two were similar in outline and position, though somewhat smaller. It was decided not to open them.

The slope behind these mounds gradually ascended to an elevation of about 100 feet, where it joined the level top of the hill. Built along the edge so that they were partly on the level and partly on the incline were four mounds in a line nearly north and south. The base of each extended to the base of the next one.

Number Three.—This, the most northern one of the four, is slightly encroached upon by the road running west from the lower end of Montezuma. It is 105 feet in diameter, the summit being six feet above its base as seen from the hilltop and twice that from the lower side. In excavating, the greatest distance of the top above the natural soil was eight and

one-half feet. There was a depression on top; in order to ascertain if this might be due to a former cavity, a trench was cut from east to west, with a minimum width at the bottom of fifteen feet. Near the west edge, a foot above the bottom, was about half a bushel of small rocks in a pile, and under them a single cervical vertebra of a Virginia deer. It is scarcely possible that this had any significance; very probably it was only the result of children's play. Two small streaks of red clay, for four or five feet, running to an angle as if to form the corner of an enclosure, were in the dumped earth, two feet above the bottom, east of the center; but there was no more of it, and nothing to indicate that it was placed with any definite aim in view. A side cut, beginning with a width of twenty-two feet and narrowing to eleven feet, was carried from the trench to a distance of eleven feet toward the south; this included all the space for a distance of more than ten feet around the apex. Nothing whatever was discovered upon which to venture a guess as to the purpose for which the structure was erected. The material is a rather hard, tough clay, of a nature in which bones easily decompose; so it is possible, and probable, there were burials of which no trace is left.

Number Four.—This is next south of Number Three. It is 100 feet in diameter, with a depth at center of eight and one-half feet. A trench sixteen feet wide, which was widened to 24 feet around the center, was cut from north to south to include a depression just east of the apex. A foot below the surface, near the center, loose in the earth, was a rough piece of sandstone showing marks of use as a grinding or rubbing implement. At the same depth was a large patella. At a depth of seven feet, directly under the stone, in dirt that had no indication of ever being disturbed since it was put there, was a tooth which has been identified by Professor F. A. Lucas as that of the existing horse. The patella is also from a horse. The latter, being so near the top, may be accidental; but the tooth is contemporaneous with the mound, proving beyond question that it is of a more recent date than the Discovery by Columbus.

As was the case with the last two mounds, there was nothing to cause the depression in the top; possibly it was never

rounded off. Around the center of the structure, mostly on the original surface as indicated by the sod line, but in a few places resting on a single thickness of dumped earth, was an irregular line of red clay containing small angular fragments of chert. It was nowhere more than a foot wide or six inches thick, and occasionally entirely disappeared for a few inches. This clay enclosed a rectangular area about sixteen feet north and south by twelve feet east and west. At the southeast corner was a layer of decayed wood extending about five feet to the south; it seemed to mark the position of a small log. In two places near the center of the red clay enclosure were soft fragments of human bones, indicating bunched skeleton burials; and three feet southeast of them a similar deposit. At various places in the mound occurred streaks of very fine white sand, resembling ashes; within the northeast corner of the red clay this was in very thin curved laminæ as if it had settled in still water in a basin two feet across. Possibly these resulted from irregularities of the surface allowing water to settle at times when work on the structure was suspended.

As nothing had been found except these traces of three skeleton burials, and as the mound was made of clay very hard to dig, it was deemed useless to go farther into the sides.

A test hole was made in the next mound to the south; it was found to be of similar composition to the last, and no further work was done on it.

Number Five—This is the largest of the four. Its diameter is 125 feet. Standing on a point which slopes three ways, the height varies from twelve to thirty feet on different sides. The surface is quite uniform, to the rounded summit; there was no depression or flattening. A trench was run from east to west. The earth was variable in density; most of it could be easily removed with a spade, though some of it required use of a pick to loosen. Small masses of limestone rocks were found at various points within twenty-four feet to west and south of center; none appeared to the east. With some of them were ashes, charcoal, rotten wood, etc., but all were apparently dumped where found in process of building. An extended skeleton lay with head south, twenty-nine feet west of center, a foot above the bottom. No other human remains

were found in this half of the trench; but they were uncovered at nine places within a space about seven feet across, beginning about nineteen feet east of center and extending from the natural surface to a level two feet above it. Two of these spots marked burials of adults, extended, with head east; the others contained only fragmentary bones, and seemed to be either skeleton burials, or places where only a few bones had been deposited. Two skulls were found, not in company with any other bones; one of them, very thin, was of a child whose first teeth were still in position, but loose in the earth with them were nine others worn to the roots, apparently from a very old person. There was also a femur, by itself, laid with the front down.

Directly under the apex, at a depth of nine feet, was the northeast corner of a cist or vault measuring fourteen feet east and west, twelve feet north and south, and two and one-half feet high, built directly on the sod line. The logs forming it had decayed until only a soft, ashy mass here and there marked their position; but this and the loose earth filling the space left by them, were sufficient to mark its limits. Within the cist, near the south side, a few inches above the bottom, was a human skull without either upper or lower jaw. It lay with the vertex upward, and was painted or stained a pale red as if with ochre. No other bones were with it; but four feet to the eastward were portions of a skeleton fairly preserved, and two feet to the northward were decayed human bones which seemed not to belong with the first. The only artificial objects in the cist were one perfect and several broken bone perforators similar to those found in Number One.

On the top of the narrow ridge west from Number One are three small mounds in an east and west line. The first had been plowed nearly level and was not examined. The next one was opened as—

Number Six.—This had been plowed until only three feet high. The interior over a space thirteen feet in diameter was cleared out to a depth of five feet, which was below any remains found; but there was no mark by which the bottom could be determined. Nothing whatever was found at the center; but from four to seven feet to the north and east were soft fragmentary remains of three skeletons, one of them a child with very thin skull and teeth of both sets in either jaw.

Number Seven.—This is ninety feet west of the last and somewhat larger. The depth is five feet. Under the center, dug into the original soil, was a grave sixteen inches deep, which contained one skeleton, extended, on the back, head west. Above it, on the natural level, was one extended, with head east. Just north of the last were two bundled skeletons, and above it was a skull lacking the lower jaw. Twelve feet south from the center was another grave, dug a foot into the natural earth. It contained an extended skeleton, on the back, head east. This grave was covered with flat rocks, on which was a number of mussel shells. Three feet west of it was a skeleton, extended, on the back, head northeast or toward center. A foot above the head was a dismembered skeleton, all the bones being in a small heap.

Several burials were made two feet above the bottom of the mound; or, more properly, bodies or skeletons were laid on the surface of the tumulus when it had reached this height, and the work of building resumed. Among these were two skeletons lying side by side, heads west and in contact six feet east of the center. In one of these skulls the teeth were much worn; in the other only the first teeth were present. Traces of three other skeletons were found near these two. Five feet west of center was an extended skeleton, on the back, head southwest; even the small bones of the hands and feet were well preserved; but no part of the face below the forehead remained, and only one tooth (which may not have belonged to it) was found; this was lying near the base of the skull. Two feet east of this skeleton, parallel with it, were the badly decayed remnants of another; two feet farther east was a skull, in fragments; and immediately beneath the last was the frame of a very young child with nearly all the bones intact and strong enough to be removed. A few inches northeast from this child's bones was the lower jaw of another, the teeth just through the bone; by it was a portion of the base of the skull. Three feet east from center was a fragmentary skeleton with an abnormally thick skull. Six feet north of center were a very large femur and tibia, in excellent preservation, and apparently belonging together; but they were lying almost at a right angle to each other and the nearest ends were about a foot apart. A foot under these were

fragments of a child's skull; and three feet east of the last were some teeth of a child.

Not one article had been deposited with any of the bodies or skeletons buried here; fragments of flint and pottery and one flake of obsidian were found loose in the earth carried up in the building, but nothing intentional.

Farther up this ridge, where it turns southward and widens out into the hill, are two large mounds which are still undisturbed.

Number Eight.—This is on the point of a ridge at the south end of Montezuma, about fifty feet above the bottom. It is in a feed lot and has been worn down by trampling of stock until it is now only four feet high, with an indefinite base line. Only the south half was thoroughly excavated. Almost at the surface, within five to fifteen feet of the center, were fragments of six skeletons, five of which had the head, and one the feet, toward the center. There was no distinct line between the mound and the natural surface; but at what seemed to be the bottom, about eight feet out, were three skeletons; one of them that of a child, covered with limestone slabs. The head of this was from the center; of the others, towards it. Under a large flat rock, west of the grave, was a solitary lower jaw.

It was supposed a grave would be found at the center; instead, there was only a round hole or pit sixteen inches in diameter, dug to a depth of eighteen inches when the mound was two and one-half feet high; that is, to within a foot of the bottom. A small fire had been made in this hole, only sufficient to redden the bottom and the sides for a few inches up; it was then filled to the top with mingled ashes, charcoal, and earth. Almost exactly above this hole, with its top at the present surface of the tumulus, was a small flat pot which fell to pieces when the earth was removed from around it. A foot north from the pot, and also four feet east from it, was a skull, neither having any part remaining below the forehead; nor were there any other bones about them.

CONCLUSIONS.

A study of the features presented by this group of mounds shows that we have to deal with a people in no respect or degree more advanced in culture than the Indians living along the Illinois River 200 years ago. In fact, we have no warrant for the assumption that these structures were not built by some one of the same tribes, except the fact that they were not known to build mounds within the historic period. It is quite possible they may have had such a practice in the not distant past, and gradually abandoned it. Indeed, the presence of the horse tooth near the bottom of one, brings them within the limits of a little less than four centuries.

Modern Indians, that is, tribes whose methods of life are familiar to us through the statements of eye-witnesses to their customs, built burial vaults or pens like those in mounds Number One and Number Five, and covered them with earth, though not to any such extent; the disks are of the type common to many flint implements before the distinctive finish of barbs and tangs is given to them; similar beads were made within the present generation, even, by primitive means; the bone perforators are common among the lowest races; the bunched skeletons show that the bodies were kept in dead-houses or about the huts until the flesh had disappeared; the partial skeletons show that no great care was exercised to keep the dismembered bones together; the painted skulls, and the crania from which all ancillary bones are detached, are in strict accordance with modern Indian methods of utilizing portions of an enemy's body, either as food or ornament, to imbibe or inherit his valor or other desirable qualities, or as tokens of the victor's own prowess; the mounds themselves, the only thoroughly characteristic feature, show by their structure that they are built by small accretions such as a man—or, in this case, no doubt, a woman—may carry in a basket.

So, all in all, it is quite proper to retain for these tumuli their popular name of "Indian" mounds.

GERARD FOWKE.

OLIVER D FILLEY.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

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REMARKS OF CHARLES P. JOHNSON ON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF THE PORTRAIT OF OLIVER D. FILLEY TO THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY, THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1903.

I have been selected by the donors to formally present to the Missouri Historical Society this portrait of Mr. Oliver D. Filley, for years an honored and beloved citizen of St. Louis. It is well worthy of a place in this consecrated repository alongside of the many distinguished men who have in the past shed honor and glory upon our city. In view of the character of the donation and the occasion, I deem it proper and appropriate to review to a limited extent the life and public services of the subject of the portrait.

Oliver Dwight Filley was born at Bloomfield, in the State of Connecticut on the 23d day of May, 1806. His family was of Welsh origin. His American ancestry dates from the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth Rock in 1620. Thirteen years after this event, a record of Windsor, Connecticut, shows the settlement there of a colony with William Filley among the number. From this William Filley descended the various branches of the extensive and widely distributed Filley family. Oliver Filley was the name of Mr. Filley's father, and he had five sons and one daughter. Mr. Filley was the eldest born. The father

did an extensive business in the manufacturing of tin. In those days to learn a trade was the fashion, and young Filley learned the tinner's trade in his father's establishment. At the same time all ambitious youths strove to acquire an education, and young Filley was among that number. As opportunity afforded he attended the common schools, and, through perseverance and economy of time, he acquired a reasonably good education.

At the age of twenty-one the independent and adventurous spirit of his ancestors moved in him and he embarked westward. Philadelphia was his destination. This was a growing place and was made more attractive to the youth of the country by reason of its intimate relations to the birth of the republic. On his arrival there he was not in so sad a plight as Ben Franklin, who had only his trade to depend upon, for young Filley had an uncle there, Harvey Filley by name, who was engaged in the tinning business. He worked at his trade with this uncle for a time, but it seems was not encouraged by the outlook, and thereupon journeyed to Pittsburg. There again his trade occupied his time and gave him a support. The glowing accounts from the then far west attracted his attention and we find him, after a short visit to his home in Bloomfield, traveling to St. Louis where he arrived and located in the year 1829.

Fortunate was this decision for him and doubly fortunate for our people. Mr. Filley was now twenty-three years old, and assuredly it can be said that he grew up with the place. At that time St. Louis was a village in comparison to what it was at the time of Mr. Filley's death in August, 1881. The first mayor of St. Louis was Mr. William Carr Lane, who held office from 1823 to 1829, and the second mayor was Daniel D. Page. Therefore, Mr. Filley located in St. Louis the year of the close of the term of the first, and the beginning of that of the second mayor of St. Louis.

Starting to work at his trade, a stranger in a strange place, it is hardly probable that his ambition foreshadowed

the possibility of his being mayor of the same place thirty years thereafter, and it grown to the dimensions of a great and populous city. His span of life covered a marvelous epoch in the history of the city and the nation. It is difficult to compute and appreciate the achievements made in every branch of civilization during that era. They bewilder the mind by their variety and immensity. An intellectual activity never before known in the annals of time was just under way when Mr. Filley came to St. Louis. To follow its work, expansion and results is worthy of a greater epic than has yet been written. I said it was comparatively a village at that time. The population was between 6,000 and 7,000 souls. The city charter had been granted only seven years before. There were no railroads, no telegraphs, no omnibuses, no city hospital, no public library, no health department, no public school building, no daily paper, no merchants' exchange, no under-ground sewers, no daily mail from the east, and, I might add, the absence of a number of other of the improvements of to-day, but this enumeration is sufficient to convey an idea of what the city was, and let you compare these facts with the present well-known condition, or conditions in 1881, to verify the statement as to the character and magnitude of the events occurring during the period of Mr. Filley's citizenship in St. Louis.

Shortly after his arrival, Mr. Filley went to work as a journeyman tinner with a Mr. Mansfield, who conducted a business in that line on a limited scale. After working one year for Mr. Mansfield, Mr. Filley purchased the establishment and entered upon that business career which gave him not only a fortune but the universal honor and esteem of his fellow citizens.

Mr. O. D. Filley was the pioneer of the Filley family in St. Louis. Mr. Giles F Filley, whose name is intimately associated with the career of the former, was his brother, and came to St. Louis in the year 1834. He also learned the trade of a tinner with his brother and thereafter the two formed a copartnership in the busi-

ness and it was conducted by them for about four years. Mr. Giles F. Filley then withdrew from the partnership and began the manufacture of stoves. Mr. Oliver D. Filley continued in the old establishment on Main street between Olive and Pine streets, until the year 1873, when he sold out to Mr. Rodney D. Wells and retired from active business.

As soon as Mr. Filley purchased and became the owner of the establishment of Mr. Mansfield, he started out on the lines that ultimately gave him success and the highest standing in the commercial world. In those homely virtues that protect men from evil and are the surest guides to prosperity and happiness he was prodigally dowered. Of course they had an ancestral strength in him. Individual characteristics in those days were remarked; associates had time to note them and the community became aware of their existence from personal contact and reliable report. Every one who ever knew Mr. Filley for any length of time was impressed with his individality. And that individuality was not only strong but the traits thereof were good. He knew himself, was self-reliant and had faith and confidence in his own judgment. At the same time I never knew a man of more simplcity of character, or who had less of self-assertion. There was not a particle of arrogance in him. Firm as a rock in his opinions and convictions of right, yet he was always tolerant of the opinions of others. Notwithstanding he was from the first a free-soiler in a slave state, where partisanship at times reached the highest point of intensity, still it never interfered with his personal relations with his fellow-citizens, and at no time became an obstruction to the development of his local or rural business. At the same time he never suppressed his opinions. His light was not hid under a bushel. When he started in this city, our government had only been running about forty years. Everybody still had definite political opinions and thought it a sacred duty to express them. Some were tolerant and some were the reverse. I have often thought what a blessing it was that the little band of orig-

inal free-soilers were so tolerant, conservative and diplomatic. If they had been less so, the scourges of war might have been augmented tenfold.

Mr. Filley's business developed rapidly. He supplied the wants in one line at least of the growing population of the west. He manufactured articles of universal need. The avenues of transportation were not like unto the present, but the rivers of the country were widely utilized as the highways of commercial expansion. Mr. Filley had in a high degree that business sagacity which was so prominent a trait in the successful merchant of that day. He was conservative in his methods, careful in investment and credit, rationally economical, courteous and affable in bearing, industrious and attentive to business, and, above all, sacredly honest in all his dealing. If there ever was an honest man, Mr. Filley was an ideal one. He did not lead the modern strenuous life. He believed that there was something else in the business world than simply to accumulate money. He had the old-fashioned desire of gaining the respect and esteem of his fellow-man by following a moral standard in achieving success. Speculative processes he never indulged in. The growth of his wealth was a natural development of labor, judgment, self-reliance and honorable dealing. Sterling qualities such as he possessed were readily discerned in those days, and he was early called into the association of men who were moulding the ideas destined in their effect to develop the after greatness of our metropolis.

Political thought, as before stated, was very active among our citizens in those days. The question of finance was an important issue, but that of slavery was the all-pervading and important one. As might be expected from his genesis, education and character, Mr. Filley was a strong believer in sound money and an opponent of slavery extension. Further, at least, in an economic sense, he thought slavery was a blight rather than a blessing to Missouri. This naturally drew him to the support of the political tenets of Jackson and Benton. He believed they

were right, and in his unobtrusive but determined way he supported their policies. His strength and influence was known by both those distinguished statesmen, and he became their personal friend. In the days of Mr. Benton's ascendency as well as those of his defeat, that gentleman was wont, on his visits to St. Louis, to make his first call upon Mr. Filley at his old place of business. He was well worthy of the confidence that such action upon the part of Mr. Benton indicated, and fully able, by reason of his sincerity and strong judgment to be a judicious observer.

One incident in his life, occurring after he had reached a position in the business world, indicates his character and his adherence to principle. He was chosen a director in the old State Bank of Missouri at a time when the credit of that institution stood as high as any in the country. At the same time, the financial condition of Illinois was chaotic. The issues of her banks flooded the country and it was based upon speculative and worthless securities. Political as well as other influences were used to obtain recognition from other banks. The directorate of the Missouri Bank decided to receive their deposits. Mr. Filley could not be induced to sanction it and resigned his position rather than do so.

He was among the first of the advocates of free soil for Missouri. In this movement he became associated with Thomas H. Benton, Frank P. Blair, B. Gratz Brown, John How, Giles F. Filley, William McKee and others. He assisted in starting the "Barnburner," which was edited by Mr. Blair. Thereafter he subscribed to the fund to establish the St. Louis Union, a journal devoted to the interests of Mr. Benton and his party, and was a continuous financial contributor to the Missouri Democrat after its consolidation with the former paper until the time that paper became a paying enterprise about the time of the breaking out of the Civil War. It may be seen, therefore, that he gave of his substance with a generous hand to support his political convictions in addition to active work

in council and organization. Though he became associated with many enterprises of a quasi public nature he was decidedly averse to being a candidate for public office. He had no ambition in that direction and it was not in harmony with his tastes. There came a time, however, in the history of the free soil party in this city when he was forced to lay aside his personal wishes and accept the nomination for the mayorality. This was in the year 1858. He was the strongest man that could be selected for the candidacy, and in fact it was believed the only one who could be elected. The party at that time was sore pressed by intense partisanship from without and dissensions within the ranks. The slavery question had become the only issue throughout the country, and the whole power of the State was used to overthrow the party opposed to it in St. Louis, I became personally acquainted with Mr. Filley during the year 1858 and assisted as well as I could in his election. In 1859 the necessity of again accepting the candidacy was more apparent than ever. His refusal was virtual party defeat, It was only after insistent appeals on the part of Mr. Blair and his followers that he accepted. He was moved only by a sense of duty. Duty was his guiding star through life. I was associated with him on the ticket, having been selected as a candidate for City Attorney, then an elective office. This re-election of Mr. Filley was for the term of two years, an amendment having been made to the city charter during his first term so lengthening it from one to two years.

The importance of this election as affecting the interests of St Louis and Missouri will be noted the fact that his term covered the three years preceding the breaking out of the Civil War. During the last year of his service as mayor the election of Mr. Lincoln occurred. Mr. Filley virtually went from the position of mayor to the chairmanship of the important Committee of Public Safety.

It would be impossible in the time allotted to review the history of Mr. Filley's administration as Mayor. It covered a most critical period of our annals. Financially the

the city was in a bad condition. The estimate of the general revenue presented by the mayor in his message of 1858 exhibited a revenue of $859,883, and an expenditure of 1,038,000, and the further sum of $363,000 not included. Mr. Filley strongly recommended retrenchment and reform, not only to curtail the current expenditures, but to arrest as far as it was possible all improvements contemplated by existing ordinances not immediately demanded by the urgent wants of the people. As an illustration of his sincerity in favor of this line of policy he proposed a reduction of one-half of the mayor's salary and a corresponding reduction of the salary of other city officials. He gave much attention to perfecting the methods of taxation and improving the streets; to the making of the charitable bequest of Judge Bryan Mullanphy effective, and several other important municipal subjects.

Mr. Filley was a firm believer in morality. He respected the Sabbath and was opposed to selling liquor on Sunday. This brought him in opposition to the Germans who composed in large part the rank and file of the free soil party. They were very tenacious of their personal liberty rights. The Sunday law was submitted at the regular election of 1859 to a vote of the people on the question for or against the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday. The vote as returned was 5528 for and 7544 against the proposition. Mr. Filley carried out with energy and determination the endorsed reform. Notwithstanding this vote the Common Council passed an ordinance on August 9, 1859, legalizing the keeping open of saloons on Sunday until 9 o'clock on Sunday morning and after 3 in the afternoon of that day. Mr. Filley very politely informed the body that had so grossly disregarded the voice of the people that his views were as follows:

"The peculiar feature of our political system is in its representative principle, and this will be likely to endure and claim the willing obedience of all so long as it is justly administered. It will be your duty to devise such amendments (to the election law) as will satisfy our

citizens that their rights in this respect are in no danger and that the result obtained at the ballot box is the true exponent of those entitled to suffrage."

Further events of Mr. Filley's administration were the perfection of the paid fire department and the fire alarm telegraph system. It was in the second term of Mr Filley's service as mayor that the present King of England visited St Louis and was received and entertained by him and a committee of distinguished citizens.

The duties devolving upon Mr. Filley when acting on the Committee of Public Safety were weighty and serious. His associates were James O Broadhead, Samuel T Glover, John How, and J. J. Witzig. They were all able and patriotic citizens and the Committee had much to do in saving Missouri to the Union. A most critical condition of affairs existed after the taking of Camp Jackson and during the assignment of General Fremont to the Department of the West. The diverse policies urged by different leaders of the Union cause was the source of serious dissensions and attended with no ordinary danger. The difference between General Fremont and Mr. Blair finally culminated in the recall of General Fremont, but it divided the old free soil party. Mr. Filley had been for years the staunchest and in many respects the most efficient support of Mr. Blair. In that memorable contest he still adhered to Mr. Blair, and the influence of the Committee of Public Safety controlled the policy of Mr. Lincoln's administration in Missouri. To support the stand taken by Mr. Blair and his friends Mr. Filley contributed largely to starting the St Louis Daily Union which was edited by Mr. Peter L. Foy. The name of this paper was afterwards changed to the Dispatch and is now the Post Dispatch.

As illustrative of the character and importance of the work of Mr. Filley and his Committee in behalf of the Union cause, I cannot do better than quote from a letter from Mr. John How to Dr. William G. Eliot shortly after Mr. Filley's death. Mr. How was a life-long friend of Mr. Filley and an asssociate member of the Com-

mittee of Public Safety. This letter aptly describes some of the individual characteristics of Mr. Filley: —

"In the Civil War I was closely identified with him (wrote Mr. How), and when the troops were raised and money needed to support the recruits until enrolled his purse was always open. It became needful to obtain cloth to make the uniforms of three regiments: — Blair's, one of the Germans and John D. Stevenson's. There was but a limited amount of cloth suitable in the city and we were authorized to buy it, but, on application no one would trust the government of the United States, but would trust O. D. and myself. The old gentleman rated them for their want of patriotism, but told them to buy the cloth and that he and I would pay for it in four month's time. This was accepted, but then came another trouble. O. D. Filley had given but one note in his life and was determined not to give another. I went and told the cloth merchant, but also told him that if he would walk with me to Mr. Filley, he would give his word to see my note paid. It was a novel request, but the merchant went with me and received the word of O. D. Filley whose word was considered equal to his bond. The soldiers were clothed, but we could not get the blue cloth for J. D. Stevenson's regiment, and we sent them to the war in Kentucky jeans. In this connection, let me say in justice to Col. Robert Campbell, that on being called on to sell his cloth to us he said he would not sell, but that he would clothe Blair's regiment himself, and he did so, You remember that after the first year of the war provost marshals ruled St. Louis with arbitrary rules. Citizens were taken up in every direction upon suspicion of sympathy with the South. Witnesses were asked in and if they would state hearing a conversation that could be construed unfavorably to the government, the arrested man was fined and punished. O. D. Filley made up his mind that this was wrong, and he determined that no power could make him give evidence against such persons. "Let them talk," he would say, "if they do no overt act do not disturb them."

After the close of the war Mr. Filley took no active part in politics, but continued to devote his time and labor to business until his retirement therefrom in 1873. Subsequently to this, he gave his attention to the care and management of his property which had largely accumulated, and to the advancement of certain enterprises of a general character.

Mr. Filley married in the year 1835. His life companion was Chloe Velina Brown of Bloomfield, Connecticut. Their married life was a happy one and blessed with a number of sons and daughters, the former of whom are among the most representative men of our city and the latter are married to those of like character. Mr. Filley's death was unexpected. He left St. Louis in apparently the best of health in the month of August, 1881, for a visit to Hampton, a watering place about forty miles from Boston. On the route he was attacked with an acute kidney disease which developed to a fatality in a couple of weeks. He sank gently and peacefully into the sleep of death, surrounded and solaced by loving wife and children. He had reached the age of 75 at the time of his death. The announcement of his death was received with grief and sadness in the hearts of all all who knew him. The city offices were draped with the emblems of mourning and other tokens of respect were made visible. The remains were brought to St. Louis, and after appropriate and impressive funeral services at the family residence, No. 2201 Lucas Place, including a brief eulogy of the deceased by Rev. R. G. Brank, of the Central Presbyterian Church, and a feeling and eloquent address by Dr. William G. Eliot of the Unitarian Church, the remains were taken to that beautiful City of the Dead, Bellefontaine Cemetery. A large concourse of citizens attended the funeral, following the pall-bearers, who were Calvin Haskell, George D. Dana, F. B. Filley, E. R. Kittridge, Edward C. Meacham, E. Richards, John Whitaker and Fred Hawes. The honorary pall-boarers were: Dr. J. B. Johnson, Andrew McKinley, Thomas E. Tutt, John R. Lionberger, James

O. Broadhead, James E. Yeatman, B. W. Alexander, J. E. D. Couzins, John Loler and B. Gratz Brown.

Mr. Filley inherited a strong and healthy constitution. His health was uniformly good. He was temperate in all things. He was possesed of a kindly disposition, and, though sincere and earnest in his convictions of right, he was never intolerant or bitter in partisanship. Personal resentments he never entertained. It is related by a friend that on one occasion when walking on the street he bowed and spoke to a person who had injured and maligned him. The friend in surprise asked how he could do it. The reply was: "I never permit myself to feel so bitter against a man that I cannot speak to him."

Mr. Filley was modest in bearing and disliked ostentation. He was genial and courteous in association with his friends, but stern and immovable in adherence to what he deemed right. He was especially proud of his association with mechanical labor. He believed in the dignity of labor. If his opinions were believed in and controlled the financiers of the country to-day there would be no conflict between capital and labor. He was always generous to the worthy needy and accompanied his assistance with words of advice and encouragement.

Mr. Filley was among the foremost of the race of men who laid deep, solid and lasting the foundations of the present and future greatness of St. Louis. The recollections of their achievements should be correctly enshrined in the history of the nation. And I repeat it is meet and appropriate that this likeness of one so endeared to us all by a life time of heroic labor and worthy example should have its place among the greatest in the archives of the Missouri Historical Society.

EDWARD DE LAURÉAL.

EMIGRATION FROM THE FRENCH WEST INDIES TO ST. LOUIS IN 1848.

quaeque ipse miserrima vidi,
Et quorum pars magna fui.

BY EDWARD DE LAURÉAL.

(Read at a Meeting of the Society, 21 March, 1878.)

Guadeloupe had scarcely recovered from a terrible disaster which had covered the entire colony with ruins, one of those scourges which science and human power are equally helpless to prevent, but which in a few seconds converts a prosperous country into a vast arena of desolation.

On February 8, 1845, about 10 o'clock in the morning Pointe-a-Pitre, the Capital of the colony was destroyed by an earthquake more violent than any previously known. What the reeling earth spared the fire seized upon. The number of dead crushed beneath the ruins or calcined by the flames was so great that there were not sufficient persons to bury them; and as a matter of necessity the remains were transported to the open sea and entombed in the deep.

These evils, the result of a natural catastrophe, the colonists of Guadeloupe had borne with resignation. They had struggled against adversity with an energy worthy of praise. Without hesitation they set to work to clear the land of ruins and repair the disasters which had overwhelmed the country as well as the towns.

Their wounds scarcely healed they began to breathe when of a sudden they found themselves menaced with ruin from another cause in the face of which strength and energy were paralyzed. A political upheaval threatened to destroy in their hands the very instruments of all prosperity.

In the month of March 1848 a sinister rumor spread like a pall over the country and caused a thrill of terror

throughout. It was not yet known precisely what was to be dreaded; but the rumor, though vague, was immediately attended by grave symptoms of disorder. The uncertainty was not of long duration. A war vessel appeared on the horizon; it came bearing to the colony momentous news. A revolution had broken out in France, the king, Louis Philippe, driven from his throne, had been compelled to seek refuge in England. The people, sovereign by revolt, had proclaimed a Republic, and instituted a republican government at the Hotel- de-ville at Paris. The authorities of Guadeloupe, as well as those of all other French colonies, were enjoined for the future to obey no other orders than those emanating from the 'Republic, one and indivisible.'

These news, however we may look at them at a distance, and after a lapse of twenty-nine years, were of a nature to trouble the colony and excite the population to deplorable excesses.

Many colonists, yet living, who passed through the ordeal of the first French Republic, felt a presentment of what was to be dreaded from another the outcome of the barricades. For it should be noted that a republic born, so to speak, with a country and which is developed by assimilating naturally with the genius of its people is something quite different from a republic brought suddenly into existence and imposed abruptly upon populations unprepared for it.

If the colony was not completely upturned during the short duration of the second essay at republicanism it was not the fault of those who made it their business to persuade the blacks that the supreme object of liberty was not only enfranchisement from labor, but to trample in the dust that which they had heretofore respected. The more furious did not hesitate to counsel the use of the knife and of the torch. Happily the slaves were animated with a better spirit than the agitators.

The new agents of power in the colony, doubtless to give proof of their zeal, casting aside every precaution so indis-

pensible nevertheless under such grave circumstances, suddenly proclaimed the abolition of slavery. This precipitation was most ruinous to the country. Of a sudden the master and the slave found themselves face to face in a position embarassing to both parties, impossible yet to define distinctly and which created a real social peril.

After the first moments of astonishment at their new respective situations, there were compromises between the recently enfranchised and the proprietors who had at heart the continuation of work — compromises which, without satisfying the laborers, were the initiative to the ruin of the proprietors.

In presence of this state of things which could not last long in presence of the alarming rumors which night and day kept the population on the alert, a common thought came at the same time to the heads of families, who, without changing views, felt the emergency to fly from a common danger.

This unanimous thought had America for its object. By a singular chance, St. Louis, in Missouri, was the converging point of all projects of emigration. Consequently, in the month of July, 1848, there were seen disembarking at St. Louis the first families, wandering in search of a security which their native country no longer afforded them.

Soon these families were followed by a great number of other emigrants, so that in 1849 an agglomeration of Freneh from Guadaloupe formed almost a little colony. They had every reason to congratulate themselves on their reception on American soil.

But almost immediately after their arrival the emigrants were doomed to undergo a rude trial. The cholera, which during the spring and summer of 1849 desolated St, Louis, did not spare them. Their members were sadly diminished.

But this time again courage was was not wanting in the colonists from Guadeloupe. Then were these people accustomed to the elegances of luxury, the comforts of an

easy life, seen to make courageously the sacrifice of their past in burying its souvenir in the depths of their hearts, and to begin a life of fatigues and rude occupations to which they were far from having been accustomed. More than one mother of a family thrown entirely upon her own resources, by a prodigy of economy and courageous patience, was enabled to bring up her offspring and to place her children in a position to contract alliances with honorable families of her adopted city.

To-day the fusion is complete. The descendants of the French colonists coming from the West Indies, strangers to their maternal tongue, no longer make use of any other language than that of the country of which they are citizens, or are in any respect distinguishable from those around them.

"St. Andrew's Creek, a small stream in St. Louis County, falls into the Missouri above Bon Homme Creek. On this creek is a very ancient settlement [St. André] made by the French. In 1799, it contained 392 inhabitants, since which time it has been greatly increased by the Americans." — Beck's *Gazetteer* (1823), p. 316.

"The site of St. Anthony [St. André], a town which existed about thirteen years since near Bonhomme, is now occupied by the channel of the river." — (1819) 1 Long's *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*, p. 89.

James Mackay, perhaps the first Scottish resident of Missouri, was commandant at St. André during its whole existence, the date of its destruction by the Missouri seems to be uncertain.

THE FRENCH EMIGRÉS FROM GUADELOUPE.

Before the revolution of 1848, the French colony of Guadeloupe was one of the most prosperous in the West Indies.

Divided into large plantations, which were cultivated by slaves and in a climate, where nature yields generously to agriculture, the island was in fact a garden, with the mountains as a setting for the rich verdure surrounding them.

The social and economic conditions were much the same as those that obtained in the Southern States, prior to the Civil War.

The law of primogeniture had driven their ancestors to this garden, a place where they could follow out their family traditions in living luxuriously and at ease.

The liberation of the slaves, however, altered this condition of affairs. Their properties, which for years had brought handsome returns, were rendered almost worthless.

The majority of the French settlers sold their property at once. They were not particular as to the price, and were only too glad to have some one relieve them of it.

One of the first was Mr. Edward de Laureal and his family.

DE LAUREAL.

Mr. Edward de Laureal with his wife and six daughters, sailed from Guadeloupe on June 24th, 1848, and reached New Orleans at the end of July.

He desired to settle in Kentucky, but as the Louisville boats were crowded with soldiers returning from the Mexican war, and Mr. de Laureal did not care to have them as traveling companions for his family, he decided to take a boat to St. Louis, and go from there to Louisville. At St. Louis he was treated with great kindness by those he met, amongst whom were Messrs. Kimball, Cabanne, Soulard, and Mrs, Boyce, to whom he had a letter of introduction.

He was very much pleased to find so many Frenchmen in the city, and was charmed by their hospitality.

When his cousin, Dr, L. C. Boisliniere, urged him to make his home here, he consented without any hesitation.

Mr. de Laureal rented a house in Walsh's row, which had just been built on Fifth street, between Gratiot and Cerre streets,

In the following February his oldest daughter, Mariquitta, was married to Lieut. J. P.Garesche, U. S. A., who was at home on a furlough from the Mexican war. Archbishop Kenrick performed the ceremony in the old cathedral.

Four years later his second daughter, Nancy, married Mr. Robert A. Bakewell, editor of a paper called "The Shepherd of the Valley," and afterwards Judge of the St. Louis Court of Appeals.

Shortly afterwards his daughter, Madeleine, married Dr. N. L. Hornsby, and Octavie married Mr. Randolph Desbonne, who was also from Guadeloupe.

Marie married Mr. John F. Slevin.

After the death of his first wife, Madeleine, Dr. Hornsby married Mr. de Laureal's youngest daughter, Adele.

Mr. de Laureal attained the advanced age of ninety-one years and died in January, 1899, at the home of his son-in-law, Dr. Hornsby, in this city.

Mrs. de Laureal, who is still living, is ninety-four years of age and is the oldest of the remaining settlers from Guadeloupe.[1]

BOISLINIERE.

Dr. L. Ch. Boisliniere, whom we have already mentioned came from Guadeloupe shortly before Mr. de Laureal. He went directly to Kentucky, where he met and married Miss Mary Hite. He afterwards moved to St. Louis, where he was well-known and universally esteemed for

[1] Mrs. de Laurćal died in St. Louis, 21 January, 1904, long after this paper was written.

many years, and was quite prominent in his profession. He died about the year 1896, leaving a family of six children, one son and five daughters.

His son, Louis, adopted the profession of his father, and is at present practicing in the city.

His oldest daughter, married Mr. Laurence Cartan. His daughter, Louise, did not marry and died shortly after her father. Lucy married Mr. Caleb Cherbonnier. Lena recently married her cousin, Dr. Grindon, and Pauline, the youngest daughter, is still single.

TETARD.

Mr. Boisliniere's sister, Mrs. Adrien Tetard, and her husband arrived in St. Louis during the winter of 1848. Mr. Tetard was employed for many years at the Recorder's office. They left three children, one of whom, Mrs. William Kirchner, is living in the city.

DU PAVILLON.

Another family to follow the example of Mr. de Laureal was the Du Pavillon. Mr. Du Pavillon died shortly after his arrival in the United States, leaving a large family. They came to St. Louis where they found many of their old friends and acquaintances.

Albert, the oldest son, worked for many years in the Court House. One of his daughters married Mr. Arthur Grindon, whose son, as we have seen, married Miss Lena Boisliniere. Another daughter who will be remembered by many of the ladies of St. Louis is Mrs. Henry Boisliniere. Her husband, a brother of Dr. Boisliniere, died in Guadeloupe. She came to St. Louis with her mother and taught French in the old St. Vincent's School, where many of St. Louis' matrons were educated. Mrs. Du Pavillon died in St. Louis at an advanced age. The learned Jesuit Missionary, Father Charropin, is a grand-son of Mrs. Du Pavillon.

CHEROT AND BOURDON.

Other relations of Dr. Boisliniere who came to St. Louis at this time are the Cherot and Bourdon families. Two of the old emigrés are still living and have passed the age of eighty.

DE POMBIRAY.

Mr. Charles de Pombiray was living in France at the time of the revolution, having gone there from Guadeloupe, that his children might receive a liberal education. He did not escape its effect on this account, however, and finding himself reduced in circumstances decided to follow in the footsteps of his cousin Edward de Laureal, whom he joined in St. Louis. He brought with him his wife and five children.

With Messrs. J. B. and Charles de Laureal who arrived from Guadeloupe on the day of the great fire, in 1849, he started a sugar refinery. This refinery was situated on Hickory St. and for a while it was successful, but for want of sufficient capital the business could not be continued on a sufficiently large scale, and it was sold out.

The Messrs. de Laureal removed to Cuba, where they had charge of some sugar plantations for many years. Mr. J. B. de Laureal afterwards returned to St. Louis, but finding the climate too severe he went to St. Augustine, Fla., where he died in 1882. He was buried with military honors by the soldiers of the fort, as he had formerly been an officer in the French army.

A daughter of Mr. Charles de Laureal, Mrs. Macklot Thompson, is at present living in the city and has quite a reputation as an artist.

Mr. de Pombiray died on the 9th of March, 1903 in his 97th year, leaving three children. His daughter, Mrs. Bestoso, died the previous year.

BOUVIER AND GILBERT.

The family of Mr. Alfred Bouvier and that of his brother-in-law, Mr Gibert, arrived in St. Louis when the cholera epidemic was at its worst in 1849. They took a house in Walsh's row where Mr. Edward de Laureal was already established.

Mr. Gibert, his mother-in-law, Mrs. Egiman, and five of his children fell victims to the plague a few days after their arrival, and all died within a short time of each other. Such a calamity would be most trying under any circumstances, but on arriving in a strange land where the language was unfamiliar, it was a blow that few could have withstood. Mrs. Gibert and Mrs. Bouvier, however, were superior women and rose above their misfortunes. Being highly educated, they opened a school for girls which was patronized by St Louis' exclusive set. Mrs. Bouvier distinguished herself as a music teacher, and Mrs. Gibert as an instructor in French. They served in the capacity of teachers many years after their school was closed. Mrs. Bouvier's oldest son married Miss Emma Bennett, and her daughter married Mr. Jacob Ewald. Another son, Alfred, married Miss Josie McKellops.

Two other ladies that came from Gaudeloupe at this time were Mrs. Ladevaiz and Mrs. Du Clos, whose husbands died shortly after reaching St. Louis. Mrs. Du Clos when young was a beautiful woman, and impressed the Prince De Joinville as such, he saying that the prettiest thing he had seen in Gaudeloupe was Mrs. Du Clos. She was the sister-in-law of the well known Catholic author, August Nicolas,

Mrs. Eudoxie Peterson and her brother, Seymour Voulaine who gained prominence during the war, were also from Gaudeloupe. The longevity of these families is remarkable. Mr. Charles de Pombiray reached the age of ninety-seven. Mrs. de Laureal has passed her ninety-fourth birthday, and her husband lacked one day of com-

pleting his ninety-first year when he died. At least six of the others have upwards of four score years to their credit.

Before concluding this sketch, let us consider briefly what manner of people these were, who have done their share in forming the social and civic life of this city of ours.

Many of them were descendants of the old French nobility, possessing its fine traits, and few of its failings. They were welcomed and gave to the land of their adoption the best that was in them, examples of refinement and of the highest principles born of a deep religious conviction. Long will their influence be felt by those who have known and loved them.

As to these creole women they were models for mothers, wives and daughters. Accustomed to a life of ease in their native homes, they courageously went to work to help in the support of their families, and aided in encouraging and inspiring their husbands. They brought up their sons to be good citizens, and their daughters to walk in their footsteps.

ADÈLE HORNSBY.

FIVE or six hundred men of the various tribes go to the Illinois with their rifles and enter suddenly the house of the commandant (at St. Louis) who is generally a Captain of the Battalion of the province, with only thirty-two men. They ask for brandy or for food, often with insolence, and the commandant has to suffer this or to run the greatest risks. The superiority of their forces emboldens them, and their thirst for brandy makes the risk greater, as they become truly wild animals when intoxicated. — Bouligny's Memoir, 1776, 2 Fortier, p. 48.

EDWARD DE LAURÉAL.

Mr. Edward Coudroy de Lauréal came to St. Louis in August, 1848, from the island of Guadeloupe, French West Indies, together with his wife and six daughters. His venerable father followed him next year, and died at his son's farm below Carondelet in 1852. The occasion of the exodus was the wretched state of the French colony after the negroes were emancipated by the revolutionary government of 1848. The horrors of St. Domingo were still fresh in the minds of the older inhabitants of Guadeloupe; but the immediate cause of the exodus was the ruin of the planters, to whom the government paid a miserable pittance for their slaves. The larger planters, as the de Lauréals, were reduced from opulance to quite moderate circumstances, and those whose circumstances had been moderate were brought to destitution. Nor, at the time when Mr. de Lauréal left Guadeloupe, was it certain that anything at all would be received from the government.

Mr. de Lauréal landed in New Orleans with the intention of joining his brother Alexis in Louisville. But Mr. Kimball, of St. Louis, whose acquaintance he made on the boat, so strongly advised Mr. de Lauréal to settle in this city that he changed his plan, came to St. Louis, and shortly afterwards purchased a hundred acres near the Dent and Sigerson farms on the Gravois, where he built a residence and farmed the land for ten or twelve years, when he removed to St. Louis, and afterwards to Carondelet, where he died in 1899, aged 91, having retained all his faculties to the last.

Mr. de Lauréal married his first cousin, Octavie de Lauréal, who survives him at a very advanced age, retaining, however, until quite recently, to a great degree, her very remarkable energy and activity of body and mind. Whilst this is being written, she still lives, beloved and revered by all those who have the privilege of her intimate acquain-

tance and especially by a numerous circle of descendants to the fourth generation. Of her it may be truly said, in the language of the Holy Writ, "her children rise up and call her blessed."

His daughters married, respectively, Lieut. Colonel Garesché of the artillery (killed December, 1862, beside Rosecrans, in the battle of Stone River), Judge Bakewell, Dr. N. L. Hornsby, Mr. Randolph Desbonne, and Mr. John F. Slevin.

Mr. Edward de Lauréal was of noble family which settled in Gaudeloupe in 1690, the members of which were the principal personages of the colony during its prosperous years, to which prosperity, both as military governors and as civilians, they largely contributed. Mr. de Lauréal was a man of high principle, of great refinement, and of varied accomplishments. His education, as was the case with all the wealthy colonists, was had in France. After his marriage and up to his emigration, his family, while in France, lived at Limours, the country seat of the family, near Paris. Four of his daughters were born in Guadeloupe and two in France. Amongst other accomplishments, Mr. de Lauréal was an amateur painter in chalks of great merit, and his landscapes and portraits adorn the houses of his friends and descendents and were highly appreciated by such competent judges as the late Mr. de França, the famous portrait painter of St. Louis before the war.

The ancestor of the West Indian Coudroys was Simon de Coudroy of Dax in Provence, of an ancient family, and whose son Armand de Coudroy came to Guadeloupe in 1690. The son of Armand, Jean Charles de Coudroy, *de l' Ordre royale et militaire de St. Louis*, and Lieutenant Colonel commanding in Guadeloupe, died in 1784, aged 79. This last was a man of large fortune and established three sugar plantations in Guadeloupe. The plantation named Laureál gave its name to the eldest son as Coudroy de Laureál; the sons who owned the other two planta-

tions were, after the same fashion, known as Coudroy de Lillet and Coudroy de Léry.

The de Laureáls were always distinguished in arms. Mr. Charles Leon Coudroy de Lauréal, born in 1762, was an officer in the French navy for many years under the famous Bailli de Suffren. He died in 1792, in the army of the emigrant princes. Mr. Louis de Lauréal, Captain of Zouaves, brother of Mr. Edward de Lauréal, was the first to land at the head of his regiment at the Crimea in 1854 and one of the first to die under the hail of shot.

R. A. Bakewell.

St. Louis, July, 1903.

We are at the Glasgow hotel, and will leave it the day after to-morrow, as it is too good for our purses. We intended to have gone twenty miles in Illinois to Edwardsville, but have changed our plans, and will go northwest sixteen miles to Florissant, where we are assured game is plenty, and the living quite cheap. * * * The markets here abound with all the good things of the land, and of nature's creation. To give you an idea of this, read the following items: Grouse, two for a York shilling; three chickens for the same; turkeys, wild or tame, 25 cents; flour $2.00 a barrel; butter, six pence for the best — fresh and really good. Beef, 3 to 4 cents; veal, the same; pork, two cents; venison hams, large and dried, 15 cents each; potatoes, 10 cents a bushel; ducks, three for a shilling; wild geese, 10 cents each; Canvas back ducks, a shilling a pair; vegetables for the asking, as it were; and only think, in the midst of this abundance and cheapness, we are paying at the rate of $9,00 a week at our hotel, the Glasgow, and at the Planters we were asked $10.00. — *Letter from Audubon to James Hall, dated St. Louis, March 29, 1843.* 1 Audubon and His Journals 451.

JOHN SAPPINGTON MARMADUKE.

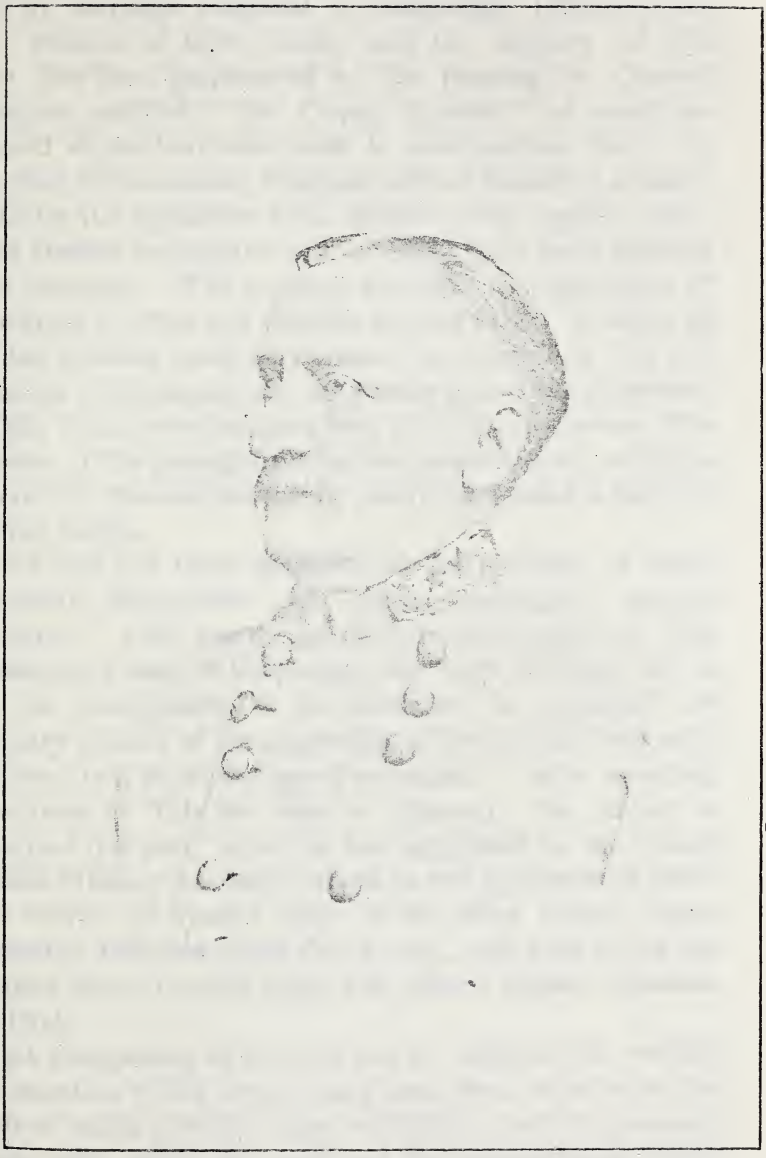
BY JOHN F. LEE.

(An Address Delivered at a Meeting of the Society, 25 May, 1906.)

John Sappington Marmaduke was born in Saline county Missouri, near Arrow Rock, on March 14th, 1833.

The name "Marmaduke" is said to mean mighty leader. The origin of the family is not distinctly traced. We first find it in Westmoreland county, England, one of the northwestern counties which is generally mountainous in character and well calculated to produce a vigorous race of men. An early record is found of a Sir Miles Meredith Marmaduke, which is the same name as that of the father of the subject of this sketch. It is known that some members of the English family emigrated to Westmoreland county, Virginia, at an early date and remained there until Miles Meredith Marmaduke came to Missouri and settled in Saline county, shortly after the admission of the state into the union, which was in 1820. He engaged in farming but shortly after reaching Missouri went with the first wagon train from Missouri to Sante Fe, and as the country crossed was then in the possession of hostile Indians, the journey was attended with great peril. Notwithstanding this he took part in two other similar expeditions at later dates. He was a man of high character and great influence in the community in which he lived. He was elected Lieut. Governor in 1840, and upon the death of Governor Reynolds in 1844, he succeeded to the office of governor, which he filled with great credit. He married Lavinia Sappington, a daughter of Dr. John Sappington, a native of Maryland, who came to Missouri from Tennessee.

Dr. Sappington, for whom John S. Marmaduke was named, was a practicing physician who enjoyed in a very uncommon degree, the respect, confidence and affection of all who knew him.



JOHN S. MARMADUKE.

The two families of Marmaduke and Sappington united by marriage exercised a controlling influence over the politics of their county, and the memory of this fact has been perpetuated by the painting by General Bingham entitled "The County Election" of which engraved copies have been made in such numbers that it is familiar to thousands; Bingham offered himself as a candidate for the legislature from Saline county against Erasmus Darwin Sappington and as might have been foreseen was defeated. The painting was made in explanation of the artist's defeat and exhibits decided skill. It shows all of the election machinery under the control of the two families who compose also the greater part of the electorate. While it has some exaggeration, it is not a caricature. The figures of the principal parties are resemblances, and Miles Meredith Marmaduke can be easily recognized in the presiding Judge.

Six sons and three daughters of the marriage of Miles Meredith Marmaduke and Lavinia Sappington reached maturity. John was the fourth child and second son. The influence of each of his parents was very strongly felt in in the development of his character; he attended the country schools of the neighborhood in which he lived until he went to Yale at the age of seventeen. After spending two years at Yale he went to Harvard. He studied at Harvard one year, when he was appointed to the United States Military Academy, where he was graduated in 1857. He served on frontier duty in the First United States Mounted Riflemen under Col. Loring, and later in the 7th United States Cavalry under Col. Albert Sidney Johnston in Utah.

At the opening of the civil war he suffered the conflict of emotions which tore so many men when called on to decide to which side their duty called him, but the promptitude with which he acted and the circumstances under which he reached his decision were characteristic of him, and showed that those qualities were his by inheritance. He was at his father's home at the time and sought the

advice of his father at this critical moment of his career. The latter listened patiently to a full statement of his son's feelings, and when he had finished said simply: "John go up stairs and change your uniform." The first of that momentous conflict was the firing on Fort Sumter, April 12th, 1861, and five days later he resigned his commission.

Immediately after resigning he joined the Missouri State Troops and served as Colonel. On the 17th of June following he was brought in contact with the Federal Troops at Boonville. Col. Marmaduke believed the Confederate Troops were not prepared for a battle under the conditions which then obtained and so expressed himself to his superior officer, Gov. Jackson, but disregarding Marmaduke's opinion Jackson ordered an engagement, which resulted in the defeat of Col. Marmaduke. Shortly after this he resigned his commission and after spending a few weeks at home, went to Richmond and tendered his services to the Confederate Government. He was commissioned Lieut. Colonel and assigned to the Staff of Gen. J. W. Hardee, who was at Pocahontas, Arkansas, but after a short service in Arkansas and Missouri he was placed in command of the Third Confederate Infantry and crossed the Mississippi. He took part in all the desperate work around Bowling Green, Kentucky, at Fort Donelson and the retreat to Corinth.

The Battle of Shiloh is generally recognized as one of the decisive battles of the Civil War, and there are many who believe that had the outcome been otherwise the result of the war might have been changed. The Confederate forces were under the command of General Albert Sidney Johnston, Marmaduke's old Commander in Utah. The evening before the battle, which was to begin at dawn on April 6th, the Confederate forces were ranged in battle order and the Commanding General, attended by his staff, rode down his lines to review them. General Hardee had command of the first division, General Hindman of the second, and Marmaduke was in command of Hindman's Brigade, which formed part of the second division. General John-

ston spoke words of encouragement and exhortation to the respective commands as he passed them but when he reached Marmaduke, who was stationed in front of his command he halted his body guard, rode up to Marmaduke and grasping his hand with that feeling of comradeship which one intrepid spirit feels for another when confronted by a heroic enterprise, only said: "Marmaduke, I know you will do your duty." He recognized that Marmaduke needed no urging to do his best. He had the great Commander's fullest confidence and Marmaduke's conduct on the bloody field next day proved how well he deserved that confidence.

The accounts of the results of the first day's fighting at Shiloh are very conflicting. How far the Confederate forces drove back the Federals, and what was the confusion in the Federal Camp, is a matter of widely differing opinions and probably will never be definitely settled. One view is that the Federals were broken and had retired near the river, were only saved from flight by General Johnston's fall, when General Beauregard assumed command he felt so sure of receiving a surrender of the Federal forces the next day that he ordered a cessation of hostilities for the day, and the arrival of General Buell with fresh forces reversed the fortunes of the day. General Marmaduke was wont to say that on his advance he entered a tent where a meal for Federal officers was set out, but had been left behind untasted. It must be remembered that the opposing Commander was General Grant, whose glorious career records no surrender and the splendid army which he led was capable of supporting great reverses with unbroken spirit. It is certain the second day's fighting resulted in a disastrous Confederate defeat.

For his distinguished services on the field at Shiloh, Col. Marmaduke was made a Brigadier General.

He took a conspicuous part as a Division Commander at the Battle of Prairie Grove. General Hardee in his report said that Marmaduke had apparently not been confirmed as Brigadier General, but that if the authorities

had witnessed his valor at Shiloh and Prairie Grove, the honor would not be delayed.

After the retreat of the Confederates from Shiloh, General Hindman was assigned to command the entire forces west of the Mississippi River, and holding Marmaduke's military services in the highest esteem he urged Marmaduke to accompanying him to that field of action. The invitation was accepted.

The history of all the Confederate leaders, save those who died before the result of the conflict was decided, is necessarily a history of defeat. The resources of the Confederacy were not large enough to maintain the army of Northern Virginia, the army east of the Mississippi and a third army west of the Mississippi in the highest state of efficiency. The two first armies were considered at Richmond as of more vital importance than the army west of the Mississippi, and the interests of the latter were consequently sacrificed to the other two.

Gen. Marmaduke made excellent use of the means at his command. He took part in a number of engagements with varying success. He was present at Springfield, Hartville and Cape Girardeau. He defeated the federals at Taylor's Creek, but failed in an attack on Helena for want of proper support. During General Price's defence of Little Rock, Marmaduke commanded the cavalry of the army and formed its rear guard, which was mentioned in the report as "Skillfully handled and behaved admirably." His attack on Pine Bluff was repulsed. He made a skillful disposition of his troops and a four days fight at Elkin's Ferry and Prairie d'Ane. He was successful in a brilliant action at Poison Spring and at Jenkin's Ferry his services were important. For his part in these campaigns he was commissioned a Major General, but did not receive his commission until the closing days of the Confederacy.

In May and June of 1864, he was stationed on the Mississippi and had a creditable encounter at Lake Village with Gen. A. J. Smith.

He commanded one of the three Divisions led by Gen-

eral Price in the Missouri raid in 1864, and rendered distinguished services at the Battle of the Little Blue, where two horses were shot from under him while he was attempting to stem the onset of the enemy's forces. In the fierce battle of October 22, 23 and 25, 1864, at Marais des Cygnes, while guarding the rear, his command was overwhelmed. He was made a prisoner, carried to Fort Warren and held there until August, 1865.

After his release he took a journey to Europe for his health.

In May, 1866, he returned to Missouri and established the commission house in St. Louis of Marmaduke and Brown. It met with immediate success, but the details of business were not congenial to him and he left that business to become Superintendent of Southern Agencies for the Life Association of America, which position he retained for about two years. He then brought out the "Journal of Agriculture of St. Louis" and remained its Editor from 1871 to 1874, when he was appointed to the State Board of Agriculture.

Between the years 1875 and 1880 he was a member of the Railroad Commission of Missouri. He was elected Governor of this State and took office January, 1885. He died in the Executive Mansion December 27th, 1887, before the expiration of his official term.

He was in height above six feet, well formed with broad shoulders carried well thrown back. His neck was strong and the head well placed upon it. The head was round, the face oval, the cheek bones not high, the brow well marked, the nose prominent and aquiline, the mouth small, lips delicate, chin and jaw strongly marked, the hair light brown cut short and parted in the middle and in later life worn off the temples, a slight mustache of the same color, complexion ruddy, forehead white, eyes a clear blue which looked darker when the brows were gathered. His hands were small and beautifully formed, soft as a woman's but his grasp was firm. His carriage was very erect. He walked with a full easy stride and as his soldierly figure

passed, you could almost hear the clank of saber and spurs. He sat a horse superbly and managed him with grace. Accustomed to riding from his youth he seemed to be proof against fatigue from that form of exercise. In early life his figure was spare. It was fuller in his last years but he was never heavy or unwieldy. An officer who served on the union side in the civil war, speaking of General Marmaduke, when a young man said; he had never seen so military a looking man.

None of the pictures of him were satisfactory to those who knew him well. Probably the best is the oil painting by John Reed which was painted for the Executive Mansion. The photographs generally seen of him exaggerate the expression of firmness and make the face look harder than it should.

It has been truly said that some men have one sort of courage, some another. It may be said of General Marmaduke that he had courage in every phase, at all times, under all circumstances. A courage which was equal to any crisis, or danger in any form.

His integrity was unquestionable. He not only never did a dishonest thing, but he was never tempted to do it. Subtle distinctions between the right and wrong were very distasteful to him and he had the quality of distinguishing at a glance that which was entirely right from what was questionable, and he embraced one and turned from the other without a moment's hesitation when the choice between them was presented to him.

He came out of the southern army a penniless man, and when not long thereafter he was appointed to the office which he held under the insurance company, and was receiving an income of between $8,000.00 and $10,000.00 a year, he became satisfied that some of the practices of the insurance company were not strictly honest, and though he was not called upon in his office to do or sanction anything of which he did not approve nevertheless, without hesitation, and because of these questionable prac-

tices of the company, he gave up the office. He followed this course throughout his life.

He did not value money and he spent it with a free hand when he had it. As long as it lasted he was ready to give it to any one who had either his affection or his sympathy. His views of the value of money were greatly at variance with the commercial spirit of the present day. Whether a man succeeded in accumulating a fortune, or not, had not the slightest effect upon the estimate he made of that man's success in life. On one occasion he remarked that generally his old soldiers had done well in life. As this expression is commonly used with reference to the accumulation of worldly goods, the gentleman to whom he was speaking said, his experience with the General's soldiers had been rather to the contrary. General Marmaduke looked at him with genuine surprise and said, without any feeling of irritation, or with any purpose of giving a rebuke: "Why they have raised respectable families, they are men of weight in their communities, and are highly esteemed." He had not noticed their financial condition.

He was a man of strong affections and hearty dislikes. If he disliked a man he wanted to have nothing to do with him in any relation of life. If he liked him he was very apt to love him and he trusted his friends implicitly. He was a most loyal friend and never lost an opportunity of advancing the interests of a friend although he was ever careless of his own interests.

When in the army he was very solicitous for the welfare of his officers and men, and when wounded on the second day of the battle of Shiloh, he did not go to the hospital until he had hunted up one of his officers who had been been wounded, to learn the extent of the latter's injuries.

He was a cheerful companion, easily moved to laughter and had a hearty, ringing laugh which added much to the gayety of his presence. It was none the less hearty when he was the subject of the jest.

Notwithstanding his university education he cared little

for books, he took his lessons from life and the enjoyment he derived from social intercourse with his friends was great. His bearing towards woman was very chivalrous and he was a great favorite with them. There was in his attitude towards them a respect and protection which was very winning. He passed a portion of one summer in the hotel at Sweet Springs, Missouri. The adjoining town of Brownsville had been visited the year before by a severe cyclone. One evening a terrific wind storm arose and as it increased in fury it seemed to threaten the coming of another disaster like that of the year previous. The hotel was a frame building and in the large parlor there were seated about fifty persons of all ages and both sexes. Apprehension was seen on every face but there was nothing approaching a panic. Whilst the storm was at its highest, one of the doors opened and General Marmaduke strode into the room, apparently unconscious of any danger. As he reached the middle of the room a lovely young girl who had been nearly terrified to death but had remained perfectly quiet, seeing him seemed to think he could afford her protection, and rising from her seat without a word and although she knew him very slightly as her father's friend, walked up to him, put her head upon his shoulder and burst into tears, tears of relief that she had found safety. The stalwart soldier, the clinging girl, the raging storm, the subdued sitters about the room made a picture not soon to be forgotten. His presence seemed to reassure everybody and coincident with his coming the storm began to abate.

He never married, but he had felt the deepest and tenderest feelings of the human heart.

He was very indifferent to what are generally called personal comforts. He kept but a very few clothes and those of the simplest character. They were all he wanted. It was amusing and at the same time a pathetic sight to see him pack his trunk. The packing consisted of throwing any such articles of clothing as were nearest his hand into the trunk in the order in which he reached them. His mili-

tary life had accustomed him to wearing boots, and his boots were generally the first thing one saw on top of everything else when his trunk was opened, but always in that trunk, wherever he went, was a packet of letters addressed to him in a female hand in faded ink which told a story he only knew.

No memorial of General Marmaduke would be complete which did not mention his duel with General Walker, both because it has been so much talked of, and because for many years it was so imperfectly understood.

In one of the battles near Little Rock General Marmaduke was hotly engaged and he sent to General Walker, his superior officer, for reinforcements. The reinforcements were not sent and there is yet some uncertainty as to what was exactly done by General Walker when he came upon the field. The relations between a general and the officers of his staff are of peculiar confidence and freedom, they are the members of his official family. It is established that a member of General Marmaduke's staff later informed two members of the staff of General Walker, that Marmaduke had accused Walker of cowardice on the day mentioned. Correspondence followed which resulted in the duel. It was fought before sun-rise, the principals were placed at fifteen paces, General Marmaduke was so near-sighted that he was unable to see his opponent with anything approaching distinctness, but while being placed he had the coolness to notice that certain weeds were in line between him and General Walker, and in firing he aimed at them. General Walker was mortally wounded. The best account ever given of the duel is probably that of Col. Robert H. Crockett, who was General Walker's second on the occassion. It is said Col. Crockett never made a statement of the unfortunate occurence until 1889, when General Marmaduke had for more than two years been dead. In that statement Col. Crockett says: "I desire to say, and right here, that while I loved General Walker as one man rarely loves another, I had the highest respect for General Marmaduke as a gallant soldier and

chivalrous gentleman". We may accept this as the last word and find whatever excuse we may for the unfortunate man whose indiscretion in repeating what he had heard under circumstances which bound him to secrecy was the cause of this very deplorable event.

General Marmaduke was a candidate for the governorship of Missouri in 1880, but he entered the field when the canvass of his rivals for the nomination was practically completed and it was too late for him to draw to his support his friends, who were to be found all over the state. He bore his defeat so manfully that it made him many friends, and when the canvass for the governorship opened in 1884, he entered the lists.

The governorship had been the object of his ambition ever since the war closed his military career, not only that he wanted it, himself, but it had always been his mother's desire that one of her sons should hold the office their father had held.

General Marmaduke was without money and it was soon apparent that the party machine was against him. When his chances were still very much in doubt a gentleman called upon him and offered the assistance of this gentleman's friend, a man who had a very powerful political influence but he was a man whose part in politics General Marmaduke believed was an influence for evil. He did not do as many would have done, temporize, or accept such an aid intending not to be swayed by it when in office, but he said in his quiet, resolute way, "I want to be governor but I don't want to be governor by that man's help." When the election of delegates began to be held it became apparent that Marmaduke would sweep the state, not by the aid of any clique or the ring, but, as he said in his inaugural address, "In spite of its potent and persistent opposition."

He entered upon the duties of his office without any pledge other than that imposed upon him by his oath. There was great interest felt throughout the state as to how the man who had been looked upon as merely a soldier

would perform his executive duties. No one doubted his integrity or his courage, but it was feared that his well known love for and confidence in his friends might lead him to appoint men to duties which they were unqualified to perform, and here the greatest surprise of his career awaited the public. It is true he never expected to find the qualifications for office in any but his friends, yet he showed the soundest judgment in selecting his appointments, and he was inflexible in his purpose to subordinate private interests to the public good. As a result his administration was eminently successful and unattended by any scandal.

He never kept an applicant for office in any uncertainty as to what his action would be. If he intended to reject an applicant he would begin his answer with "No." He would say: "No, I will not appoint you to that office," but he would give no reason unless asked for one, and then he gave the real reason. A gentleman to whom he was warmly attached, and of whom he had a very high opinion, and whom he intended to appoint to an office, applied, to him for a different office. Marmaduke replied: "No, I can't appoint you to that office." "Why?" inquired the friend, "because", he said, "I have a man who I think will perform its duties better than you could." This simple and direct method instead of alienating his friends, was received at first with some amusement which gradually settled down to the conviction that it was the best way for him to act and gave less pain in the end.

It was a motto of General Marmaduke's: "When you quarrel with a man and he leaves you, unless you think you are in the wrong, don't go after him. If he is a good man he will find out his mistake and come back to you, and if he is a bad man, you are well rid of him," I do not know how this method tried by most men would succeed, but it succeeded admirably with him.

He cared very little for appearances. He was absolutely truthful and anything which even savored of insincerity was foreign to his nature. He wanted to know the real right or wrong of a matter; as soon as he did he was ready

to act. He believed that the legislature which met in 1887 ought to pass legislation which would effectually control the railroads. The railroads had sufficient influence to prevent the passage of an act at the regular session and the legislature adjourned without action. Governor Marmaduke promptly summoned the legislature, as under our constitution he had power to do, to a special session and committed to them the question of railroad legislation. As there was a majority of six or more in the Legislature opposed to railway legislation, they thought at first the issue was in their hands, and it was proposed that the legislature again adjourn without action. He announced if they adjourned he would call another session, and continue to call sessions until the legislature acted. Such course of action had never been known in Missouri and I doubt if it had its precedent in the United States, but when Governor Marmaduke announced his purpose there was not a man in the state who doubted he would carry it out.

It was a time of great political excitement. The railroads believed the proposed legislation would inflict incalculable injury upon them, and the Missouri-Pacific, which generally acted for the other railroads in questions of this sort, sent their general counsel John C. Brown, to Jefferson City to do what he could to defeat legislation. Now it happened that Mr. Brown who had been a Major General in the Confederate Army, Governor of Tennessee, and was for many years a warm personal friend of Governor Marmaduke's. They were now the leaders on rival sides of the question at issue, but Gov. Marmaduke insisted that if General Brown came to Jefferson City he should while there be his guest at the Executive Mansion; he did not think it becoming to him that his friend should stay anywhere else. General Brown at first protested that it might expose Gov. Marmaduke to the imputation of being influenced by the railroads, but he found Gov. Marmaduke was absolutely indifferent as to this, and it was a singular tribute to Gov. Marmaduke's honesty and firmness that no

one thought it more than an amusing incident, and one that was very characteristic of him. It was recognized that if any change of opinion took place between the two it would be on the part of General Brown.

Finally the Governor had his way and the Legislature with its one hundred and forty members passed a bill which was entirely satisfactory to him, and from that day to the present there has been no railroad question in Missouri.

During Gov. Marmaduke's administration we had the first great railroad strike in this country, known as the Martin Irons Strike, which extended from St. Louis to Texas and paralyzed the operations of the greatest railroad system in the Southwest. Gov. Marmaduke's first position was that the law must be observed and there must be no violence. It was understood he meant it. So complete was the organization of the strikers that the railroads could find no men to operate their trains. They were disposed to say that they had the men but the rioters were able to prevent the movements of trains by violence. Gov. Marmaduke soon settled that question. He believed the men had some cause of complaint. He went to see the chief officers of the railroad, insisted that these should be righted and his views were met. He promised the necessary protection to trains and it thereupon became apparent the railroads did not have the men. They were very soon secured and the trains were moved. The strike was broken without the loss of a life, furnishing a strong contrast to troubles of this sort which have been experienced many times in other quarters. The passage of the railroad legislation and the outcome of the strike, established on a firm basis Gov. Marmaduke's reputation as a firm, wise and patriotic executive. Thereafter his administration passed on without anything to threaten or disturb its success.

His constitution of iron had enabled him through life to violate with impunity the rules of health, but exposure to the severity of the season in December, 1887, brought

on an attack of pneumonia from which he died on the 27th of that month.

He met death with the same fortitude with which he had faced it on so many fields of battle. From all quarters of the State there came recognition of his public services and expressions of sorrow for his loss, and the universal sentiment was that Missouri never had a better Governor.

To-night, more than nineteen years after his death, when the greater number of those who took part in the great scenes through which he passed have gone before or followed him, he is still remembered with affection by many who are still living. The memory of his high qualities and great virtues make them feel that they are happier, better men for having known and loved John S. Marmaduke.

"The Characteristics of St. Louis, in 1827, which first struck me, were the muddiness of the streets — the badness of the hotels — the numbers of the Creole-French, speaking the French language — working on the Sabbath — a floating population of trappers, traders, boatmen and Indians — and finally, an absence of paper currency. These were all very distinctive; and in truth, St. Louis had very little of the Anglo-American character. *Rowdyism* was the order of the day — the predominating influence of the street population of Indian traders and other northwestern adventurers. These men, in *outre* dresses and well armed, were as characteristic in their department as sailors; exhibiting the independence, confidence and recklessness of their wild and lawless way of life." — Philip St. George Cooke. *Scenes and Adventures in the Army.*

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE ATTACK UPON ST. LOUIS IN 1780.

I.

(CANADIAN ARCHIVES[1] SERIES B. VOL. 97 PT. 22. PAGE 290).

MICHILIMACKINAC, 17th Feby. 1700. ~~1780~~

SIR:

Since my letter of the 15th inst. the arrival of an Indian Chief personally acquainted with me, affords me an opportunity, earlier than I expected, of ordering Mr. Hesse, a Trader and a man of Character, (formerly in the 60th Regt) to assemble the Minomines, Puants, *Sacks & Rhenards*, in the *neighborhood* and to take *Post* at the Portage of the Ouisconsings & Foxe's Rivers, there to collect all the Cannoes and Corn in the Country, for his own and for the use of the Nations higher up, who will be ordered to join him at the confluence of the Rivers Mississippi and Ouisconsing. Mr. Hesse is ordered not to move from his first stand untill I send him Instructions by Serg't Phillips of the 8th Regt. who will set out from this on the 10th of March with a very noted Chief Machiquawish and his band of Indians. For want of a Cypher, and to assist the Sergeant, I am unwillingly obliged to send a *Private* of the King's Regmt., a Highlander, writing in that language to the Brigadier.

The Reduction of *Pencour*, by surprise, from the Easy admission of Indians at that place, and by Assault from those without, having for its defense, as reported, only 20 men and 20 brass Cannon, will be less difficult than holding it afterwards. To gain both these ends, the rich furr Trade, of the Missouri River, the Injuries done to the Trad-

[1] For this and the following documents from the Canadian Archives the Society is indebted to Dr. A. G. Doughty, Archivist.

ers who formerly attempted to partake of it, and the large property they may expect in the Place will contribute. The Scious will go with all dispatch as low down as the Natches, and as many intermediate attacks, as possible, shall be made. We will endeavor a system and connection in directing their operations to the Service in view. I have only to add that, I am with the greatest respect

Sir

Your Excellency's

Most obedt & Most humble Servt.

PATT SINCLAIR

Lt. Govr. of Michilimackinac.

General Frederick Haldimand.

P. S. I have told Mr. Hesse and all the Traders to observe strict economy, I have assured them that any pecuniary advantages they may deny themselves in making all the same compleat preparations, shall be amply made up to them in a better and surer way.

II.

(CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B. VOL. 97, PT. 2, PAGE 349)

SIR:—

Your excellency was informed by my letter of February last, that a party was to leave this place on the 10th of March to engage the Indians to the Westward in an attack on the Spanish & Illinois Country — seven hundred and fifty men including Traders, Servants, and Indians proceeded with them down the Mississippi for that purpose on the 2nd day of May.

During the time necessary for assembling the Indians at *La Prairie* du *Chien*, Detachments were made to watch the River to intercept craft coming up with Provisions and to seize upon the People working in the lead mines. Both one and the other were effected without any accident.

Thirty-six Minomies (at first intended as an escort)

have brought to this place a large armed Boat, loaded at Pencour, in which were twelve men and a Rebel Commissary.

From the Mines they had brought seventeen Spanish and Rebel Prisoners, and stopp'd Fifty Tonns of Lead ore — and from both they obtained a good supply of Provisions. The Chiefs Machiquawish & Wabash have kindled this spirit in the Western Indians.

Captain Langlade with a chosen band of Indians and Canadians will join a Party assembled at Chicago to make his attack by the Illinois River, and another Party are sent to watch the plains between the Wabash and the Mississippi.

I am now in Treaty with the Ottawas about furnishing their quota to cut off the Rebels at Post St. Vincents, but as they are under the management of two chiefs, the one a Drunkard & the other an avaricious Trader, I meet with difficulties in bringing it about — Thirty Saginah Warriors are here in readiness to join them, and the Island Band can furnish as many more.

The Enclosed Papers will show your Excellency the arts practised on the Indians by the Rebels and French emissaries.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your excellency's most obedient
and most Humble Servant
PATT SINCLAIR
Lt. Govr.

MICHILIMACKINAC

29th May 1780.

P. S. Serjt. Phillips of the 8th Regmt who has my warrant to act a Lieut. during your Excellency's Pleasure, will garrison the fort at the entrance of the Mississippi. Captain Hesse will remain at Pencour, Wabasha will attack Misere and the Rebels at Kacasia — Two vessels leave this on the 2nd of June to attend Machiquawish who returns by

the Illinois River with Prisoners. The small Vessels remain at Milwaké with some Provisions after visiting the Pottawatimis side of the Lake to give the Allarm expected at St. Joseph's, at least by Chevalier.

All the Traders who will secure the Posts on the Spanish side of the Mississippi during the next winter have my promise for the exclusive Trade of Missouri during that time — and that their Cannoes will be forwarded.

The two Lower Villages are to be laid under contribution for the support of their different garrisons, and the two Upper Villages are to send Cattle to La Bay to be forwarded to this place to feed the Indians on their return.

A part of the Minomimis who are come here, some Phants, Sacks and Rhenards go away immediately to watch the Lead Mines. Orders will be published at the Illinois for no person to go there, who looks for receiving Quarter — and the Indians have orders to give none to any without a British Pass. This requires every attention & support being of the utmost consequence.

Endorsed.

From Lieut. Govr. Sinclair Commanding at Michilimackinac of the 29th of May. Recd. by express (St. Germain) 11th of June with several enclosures.

III.

(CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B. VOL. 97, PT. 2. PAGE 568.)

Information of a William Brown, Native of Ireland twenty four years in America formerly settled amongst the People called White Boys.

That he was taken Prisoner by the Winipigoes, within three hundred yards of the Lines lately thrown round a Stone House at Pencour.

He came into that Country from Pensacola where he had been employed in the King's Works as a Carpenter. He hunted one year at the Natches and the Spanish Post Oyach, he had been at Orleans before Mr. Clark's Expe-

dition, and from thence he went to the English settlement Concord.

The arrival of the Rebels and the destruction of that settlement engaged him to return to Oyach, from whence he went up to the River Ohio to hunt (Venison salted being a species of Provisions much used in that Country) & from that to Post St. Vincents on the Wabash where he found Lt. Governor Hamilton—who, he says engaged him to hunt for his Garrison, his arrival at that Post was only two days before Mr. Clarke invested the Place. With him he entered as a Volunteer against the Shawnesse and afterwards deserted and went to Misere on the West side of the Mississippi and remained there until March last in which month he arrived at Pencour where a Spanish Captain and and fifty men were in Garrison about the latter end of March John Conn a Trader, went down the Mississippi with the report of an attack against the Illinois by that route. He carried with him Two hundred Weight of Gun Powder, some Blankets, Strouds and Silver work. Upon the arrival of Conn the Trader, the Spaniards began to Fortify Pencour. The report was afterwards confirmed by a French woman who went down the Mississippi. Then the Post at the entrance of the Missisouri was evacuated and the Fort blown up, all the out Posts called in, and the Videttes of their Cavalry (for all are mounted excepting the Garrison) were placed round the Village of Pencour. A platform Cannon with a Parapet were thrown over a Stone House, an Intrenchment thrown up and scouts sent out. Two days before the British Detachment appeared before Pencour Colonel Clark and another Rebel Colonel, we believe named Montgomery, arrived at Pencour, it was said with a Design to concert an attack against Michilimackinac, but whether with that design or to repel the expected attack by the Mississippi it was agreed that one hundred from the West side, and two hundred men from the East side should be equip'd and in readiness to march when ordered. We believe Clarke and Montgomery to have been in the Village of Cahokia when

the Indians were beat of. We saw Bentley who made his escape from Montreal between the Cahokias and Cahokime in April and bought steel traps from him.

N. B. Colonel Montgomery, or some Rebel officer is killed with a Private of the Rebel troops who wore a Bayonet marked 42nd Regt. and three Frenchmen whose scalps are all brought in. They imagined that no others were killed at the Cahokias as they filed off early to a rising ground lower down the river than the village, in which all the Rebels were concealed within a Stone House and could not be drawn out. Indeed few stratagems were used owing to Canadian Treachery.

N. B. The woman mentioned was wife to a Mons' Honoré who went out last year with a pass from Major Depeyster. He is an European Frenchman.

N. B. In the Spanish Intrenchment numbers were killed as the Indians occupied a ground which commanded the greatest part of it and made several feints to enter it in order to draw the Spaniards from such parts of the works as afforded them cover. Thirty three scalps were taken on the West side and about Twenty four prisoners, blacks, and white people.

A great number of Cattle were killed on both sides the River and the Inhabitants were very much spared by all the Indians excepting the Winipigoes and Scioux.

They only scalped five or six who were not armed for the Defence of the Lines.

IV.

(CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B. VOL. 97, PT. 2. PAGE 449.)

QUEBEC, 10th August, 1780.

SIR:

I have received your letter of the 8th ultimo covering Brown's Information and Reporting the return of the Vessels sent into Lake Mishigan and the Service rendered by them to the party retiring from the Illinois, & likewise the

attacks made upon Pencour & Cachokias and the cause of their being unsuccessful. It is very mortifying that the Protection Monsr Calvé & others have received should meet so perfidious & so ungrateful a Return — the Circumstances of his and Monsieur Du Charmes Conduct — you are best acquainted with, & to you I leave to dispose of them as they deserve. If you have *evident proof* of their counteracting or retarding the operations committed to their Direction, or in which they were to assist, I would have them sent Prisoners to Montreal, in all events they are improper Persons to remain amongst the Indians, and I imagine you will think it necessary to remove them. Their influence with the Natives, unless employed for the King's interests, must be dispensed with, and that there is no doubt that the Indians will soon be reconciled to whoever may be appointed to supply their wants.

I am glad to find that altho' our attempts proved unsuccessful, they were attended with no inconsiderable loss to the enemy.

You will find the Captive Artificers very useful at present, my letter of this date will authorize you to employ them.

After the removal of the two interested or disaffected Traders, I hope you will find the management of the Indians less troublesome and more satisfactory. I hope no accident will happen to Wabasha. His and the Conduct of his Nation merit distinction.

Your intention of discriminating I am persuaded will have a good effect, and I hope the operations of the Ensuing Campaign will discover it.

I approve much of your having engaged the three men as Couriers between your Post and Niagara — it will open an expeditious communication between those Posts and this part of Canada when the men are not out you can employ them otherwise.

I am sir &c &c.

(signed) Fred Haldimand.

Lieut Govr.
Sinclair.

V.

(CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B. VOL. 97, PT. 2. PAGE 389.)

From Lieut Governor Sinclair
8th July Recd 22nd.
No. 1.
Concerning Mr Calve'
enclosing *his* letter.

SIR:

I have the honour to inform your excellency that the two vessels sent into Lake Michigan are returned. They fortunately carried from this a Force sufficient to enable the Party retiring from the Illinois by Chicago to pass with safety through a Band of Indians in the Rebel Interest — and to embark in security — some in canoes & some on board the vessels. The others retired in two Divisions, one by the Mississippi with Monsieur Calvé, who allowed the Prisoners taken by the Sacks and Outagamies to fall into the hands of the enemy. The other Division penetrated the Country between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi & are arrived here with their prisoners.

Two hundred Illinois Cavalry arr'd at Chicago five days after the vessels left it. On the 26th of May Mr. Hesse, with the Winipigoes, Scioux, Ottawa, Ochipwa, Iowa, and a few of the Outgamies, Sacks, Mascoutins, Kicapous and Pottowatamies

Twenty of the Volunteer Canadians sent from this, & a very few of the Traders and Servants made their attack against Pencour and the Cahokias. The two first mentioned Indian Nations would have stormed the Spanish Lines, if the Sacks and Outagamies under their treacherous leader Monsr Calvé, had not fallen back so early, as to give them but too well grounded suspicions that they were between two Fires. A Monsr Ducharme & others who traded in the Country of the Sacks kept pace with Monsr Calvé in his perfidy — they have long shared the

Profits arising from the Lead Mines, and from a Commerce with the Illinois.

The Attack unsuccessful as it was, from misconduct & unsupported, I believe by any other against New Orleans, with the Advances made by the Enemy on the Mississippi, will still have its good consequences. Many of the Indians are entered & many are rivitted in our Interest. The Traders who would not assist in extending their Commerce cannot complain of its being circumscribed to necessary bounds. And the Indians who received a profusion of Presents, without Distinction will now be discriminated.

The Winipigoes had a Chief and three men killed & four wounded, I fear one of them mortally. They are the only sufferers.

The Rebels lost an officer and three men killed at the Cahokias & five Prisoners. At Pencour sixty eight were killed & eighteen Blacks and White People made Prisoners. Amongst whom several good Artificers. Many hundreds of Cattle were destroyed and Forty three scalps are brought in. There is no doubt can remain from the concurrent testimony of the Prisoners, that the enemy received Intelligence of the meditated attack against the Illinois, about the time I received a copy of My Lord George Germain's circular letter. A like Disaster cannot happen next year, & I can venture to assure your excellency that One Thousand Scioux without any mixture from neighboring Tribes, will be in the Field in April under Wabasha (if no accident happens to him) His Interpreter Monsieur Rogue is a thorough honest man, & both have conceived the necessity for a profound Secrecy, as well as the design & manner of executing it. In order to avoid the bruited reports of Couriers, & the Curiosity and suspicion they always excite in traversing such an Extent of Country, every thing was settled with Wabash here, and his wants were supplied principally by the timely arrival of the King's Cannoes. Sixty Winipigoes and a Party of Indians from the West side of Lake Michigan are sent to Cross the Roads leading from the Rebel Posts, on the Ohio and Wabash, to the Illinois,

to cover Captain Bird of the 8th, who may be encumbered with Artillery, & to intercept convoys of Provisions or Parties of the Rebels occasionally in motion from either Quarter.

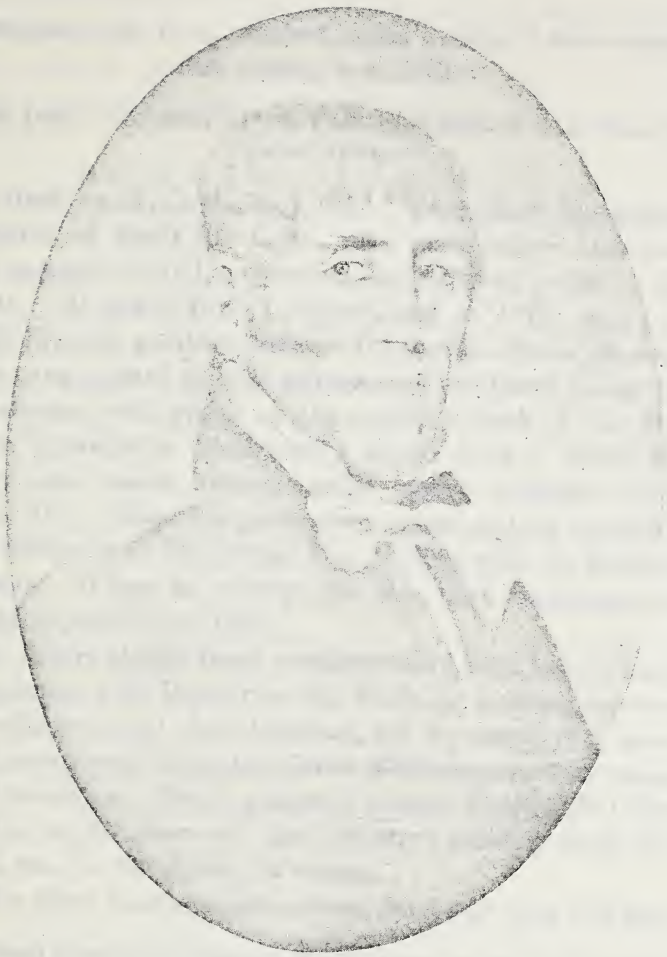
From this to the close of Harvest, small Parties will be sent from here in that direction. I have hired for a year three men who undertake to carry Expresses from Niagara to this Post, in ten or twelve days in which your Excellency may think a preferable Route to that by Detroit, for such matters as may require secresy or dispatch.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your Excellency's obedt &
Most humble Servant
PATT SINCLAIR
84th Regt.

MICHILIMACKINAC

8th July 1780.

P. S. No accident happened to any of the Indians, or other in retiring. Monsr Ducharme permitted two profligate frenchmen who were in his charge as Prisoners, to go to the Illinois–numbers of that stamp are brought in from the Indians with their consent & approbation and the whole are ordered in Mr Anises, call Interpreter here, is sent to bring in the Crew from St. Joseph's, Mons. Chevallier is his uncle, & will come in, I believe through favor and compulsion, if he is not encouraged to stay there.



C. L. Cercé

VI.

INTERVIEW OF L. C. DRAPER WITH PASCAL LEON CERRÉ,[1] ST. LOUIS, OCT. 1846.

From Draper Collection of Clark MS. in Wisconsin State Historical Society Library.

Attack on St. Louis, May 1780. Jean Mariè Ducharme, a native of Sault St. Louis, nine miles above Montreal, and opposite La Chine, was an early Indian trader in the West. He was a British subject, and in 1779, stole by a small Spanish garrison then at the mouth of the Missouri river, and pushed up that stream, and wintered during the the ensuing cold winter on the southern bank of the Missouri, opposite to Ducharme's island [and I think Mr. Cerré said some twenty miles above Jefferson City, L. C. D.] There his goods were seized by the Spaniards and confiscated; Ducharme was trading with the Missouri Indians. It was in revenge for this that Ducharme got up the expedition of 1780.

Mr. Cerré thinks there were not more than two or three Frenchmen with Ducharme, his whole force being made up of Indians (about four hundred, not to exceed that number), composed of Sauks, Foxes, Winnebagos, Menomenes (and doubtless, Sioux) gathered around Prairie du Chien and the upper rivers of that country, passing down Fox river, etc., to St. Louis, in canoes.

At a place fourteen miles above St. Louis they left their

[1] Pascal Cerré, the only son of Gabriel Cerré, was born at Montreal, 11 April, 1773. Gabriel Cerré, who had lived at Kaskaskia since about 1755, removed with his family to St. Louis in 1779. Pascal Cerré married in St. Louis, 17 February, 1797, Thérèse Lami. In 1798 he bought lots at the southwest corner of Third and Plum streets where he resided many years. He died at St. Louis, 9 May, 1849. He had two sons and one daughter; the daughter, Catherine, married Pierre Didier Papin, the younger son, Michael Sylvestre, was one of the captains of Bonneville's expedition, and died in 1860, while sheriff of the county of St. Louis Two of Pascal Cerré's sisters were married in St. Louis; Thérèse to Auguste Chouteau, and Julie to Antoine Soulard.

canoes, and as they approached the object of their attack, Ducharme divided his men into two detachments, one of which he himself headed and came down on the east side of the river. The other detachment took down on the west side of the river and posted themselves in ambush along the roads leading from St. Louis to the other settlements.

At this time St. Louis was commanded by Col. Leyba. The date of the attack was 20th. of May (perhaps the 16th.) and on a Monday.

At the first alarm, just about mid-day, and many of the people at their dinners, a man ran through the town crying "to arms!" "to arms!" and the people jumped from their tables greatly alarmed. The alarm gun was shot from the tower to warn the people who were at work out in the fields, and the women and children out after strawberries. Many of these were shot by the Indians secreted in the bushes by the road-side as they were fleeing to the town. Some of the Indians were quite near the town and killed one man between the big mound and the town. One French cart filled with these poor people put on the whip to their horses; seven of them were wounded as they passed the ambushed Indians, but they all got in.

No recollection of any shooting out of the houses at the Indians; thinks they did not expose themselves to be shot at.[1] No recollection about a chief being killed as represented by Wm. Darby, but will not pretend to say it was not so.

[1] In Edward's Great West, p. 489, appears the following: "There was a female, who afterwards became the school-mistress of the village, who when the savages made the attack, put on a coat, and buttoning it well up to her chin, and armed with a pistol in one hand and with a knife in the other, took her station at one of the gates, encouraged the men to make a valliant defence, and fearlessly exposed her person to the fire of the savages. This feat of courage dubbed her as a female warrior, and ever after she had the reputation of a heroine."

The woman referred to was Marie Josepha Rigoche, wife of Ignace Rigoche. She was thirty-six years old in 1780. In the census of 1791 she appears as "Mad[a] Rogoche Viuda." There were no gates to the village in 1780; they were of later date. (W. B. D.)

The attack lasted only that afternoon; doubts if as many as sixty or seventy of the people were killed, but is not at all certain about it.

Ducharme's party, with some of their long and large bored muskets, fired over the river and actually made some of their balls rattle on the roofs of the houses in St. Louis, but the people did not attempt to return the fire; they had to watch the other, nearer and more dangerous foe. Mr. Cerré, though he knows nothing about it, thinks it very likely that Ducharme's party went down to Cahokia.

Louis, a negro, who afterwards was the property of Gabriel Cerré, was among the number caught out of St. Louis. He was chased by an Indian with gun and tomahawk, who rapidly gained on the negro. He looking over his shoulder and seeing the Indian very close to him with tomahawk upraised, concluded there was but one chance for him, and that was to fall prostrate upon the ground. He threw himself flat upon the earth and, as he hoped, the Indian, unable to suddenly check his speed, stumbled over him, and in the fall dropped his gun; this Louis quickly seized and before the Indian could recover himself Louis shot him and brought in the gun as a trophy of victory.

Another negro, on another road, was mortally wounded and ran off and hid himself in a sink-hole not far from the path. A dog with him, kept with him until after his death, when, as was supposed, his hunger forced him to leave and go to town. The dog belonged to Mons. Cerré; and for three days successively the dog howled and would start off in the direction of the sink-hole. At length, M. Cerré, from such unusual indications, sent a person to follow the leading of the dog and was soon led to the dead negro.

The Indians took seven negroes prisoners; five belonged to M. Cerré. These latter were returned the next July by the Indians of their own accord from regard for their master or owner. The others were never recovered.

No other prisoners taken.[1] No Indians killed. The Indians now returned to their canoes and made the best of their way home. M. Ducharme retired after the war to his native place, Sault St. Louis, and there died after 1791, when M. Cerré saw him, then aged.

[1] In Hunt's Minutes, there is the testimony of Jean Baptiste Riviere dit Baccané that he was taken prisoner and carried to Chicago from whence he escaped. (W. B. D.)

Since this part of the continent became subject to the flag of the United States, the city of St. Louis, overrun by the speculative New Englanders, has begun to spread over a large extent of ground on the bank of the river, and promises to become one of the most flourishing cities of the West. A new town has in fact sprung up by the side of the old one, with long well built streets and handsome rows of warehouses, constructed of excellent grey lime-stone, quarried on the spot. The inhabitants of French extraction, are however still numerous, both in their part of town and in the neighboring villages; and it is amusing to a European to step aside from the hurry and bustle of the upper streets, full of pale scheming faces, depressed brows, and busy fingers, to the quiet quarters of the lower division, where many a characteristic sight and sound may be observed. Who can peep into the odd little cof-fee-houses with their homely billiard tables — see those cosy balconies and settees, — mark the prominent nose, rosy cheek, and the contented air and civil demeanor of the males, and the intelligent eye and gossiping tongue of the females — listen to the sound of the fiddle, or perchance the jingle of a harpsicord, or spinnet, from the window of the wealthier *Habitant*, crisp and sharp like a box of crickets — without thinking of scenes in the provinces of the northern country. — Charles J. Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America.*

THE MISSOURI-SANTA FE TRADE.

The following are re-published from the *Missouri Intelligencer*, which was published at Franklin, Missouri. They appeared in that paper, respectively, on 3 September, 1822, and 22 April, 1823. The Society has had frequent requests for copies of these articles, and for that reason it has been decided that they be here re-printed.

FROM THE SANTA FE EXPEDITION.

About three months since a number of persons, principally of this county, forming two parties, one under the direction of Colonel Cooper, and the other of Capt. Becknell, left here for Santa Fe, upon a trading expedition. The former party preceded that of the latter several days, and we regret to learn, by the following extract of a letter from a gentleman of respectability, at Fort Osage, to his friend in this place, that it has met with a serious disaster.

"Fort Osage, Aug. 20th,

"It is reported that Col. Cooper's party were robbed by the Indians, and left in a starving condition. The news came here by Gen. Atkinson, from the Council Bluffs. Mr. Immell, of the Missouri Fur Company, who had been out with a party, brought the information to the Bluffs. The party of Col. Cooper had sent to Mr. Immell for relief, who was not in a situation to afford them any — and they must either have arrived at Santa Fe before this or perished. The presumption is, that if they were not deprived of their guns and ammunition they could be able to live; consequently, their being left, as the report says, in a starving condition, implies that they were robbed of the means of procuring necessary food.

"I am inclined (exclusive of the reports coming from so

correct a source) to believe that it is true, as Mr. Glenn, who came in from Santa Fe some weeks ago, stated that he met Col. Cooper's party at the Big Bend of the Arkansas, and he had no doubt they would fall in with several war parties of Indians in a few days, who would rob and probably kill them, as he had been stopped by the same Indians, and with difficulty got clear of them, and had he not have had an interpreter would doubtless have shared a similar fate — Cooper being without an interpreter, will render his traveling through the country extremely dangerous. I mention this in order that you may let their friends know the source from whence the news came, and will vouch that which I have stated is correct (as it was told me by Gen. Atkinson) in every essential particular.

A company of about fifty persons, principally from St. Louis and its vicinity are now in town on their way to Santa Fe. Their purpose is to hunt and obtain furs. We wish them greater success than has fallen to the lot of those mentioned above.

JOURNAL OF TWO EXPEDITIONS FROM BOON'S LICK TO SANTA FE.

The following is the journal of Capt. William Becknell, of two expeditions from Boon's Lick to Santa Fe, in the Empire of Mexico, which we long since promised our readers. It is an unvarnished relation of circumstances, and perhaps may not present the reader with that entertainment and gratification of his curiosity which his fancy may anticipate—Considering, however, that national views are strongly turned towards the occupation of the territory adjacent to the mouth of the Columbia River, and that this tour embraces a part of the route; that individual enterprise is again inducing many of our worthy

citizens to push their speculations into the same quarter, and that probably new scenes of adventure will appear and new sources of wealth be opened beyond the promise of these little beginnings, we trust the subject will excite an interest separate from the bare statement of facts, and carry the mind to contemplation of future results and benefits. It will open a free intercourse, acquaint us with the soil, climate and peculiarities of the interior of that interesting country, and give a new, unexplored & profitable source of trade to Missouri. The adventurous enterprise and hardy habits of this frontier people will soor penetrate beyond the mountains, compete for trade on the shores of the Pacific, and investigate the advantages of that immense country, which extends to the South. It is pleasing also to observe the great change which republican ideas and institutions have already effected in that country. Monarchy bound in chains and threw into prison all those of our unfortunate countrymen whom accident or business brought within its reach; while republicanism extends the hand of friendship & receives them with the welcome of hospitality. The one did not wish its people to be informed by an intercourse with those of other nations, because it would enable them to comprehend the wickedness, corruption, folly and illiberality of its administration; while the other cheerfully affords the means of diffusing intelligence, knowing that it contributes to the happiness of its people, the prosperity of its institutions and the permanence of its government. The circumstance, also, of taking WAGGONS over an untraced wilderness of nearly one thousand miles, is a novel one, and will impress distant readers with an idea of the boldness and activity of their western brethren.

JOURNAL.

"Our company crossed the Missouri near the Arrow Rock ferry on the first day of September, 1821, and encamped six miles from the ferry. The next morning being

warm and cloudless, we proceeded on our journey over a beautiful, rolling prairie country, and traveled 35 miles, crossing the Petit Osage Plain, which is justly accounted one of the most romantic and beautiful places in the State. The traveler approached the plain over a very high point of adjoining prairie; suddenly the eye catches a distant view of the Missouri on the right, and a growth of lofty timber adjoining it, about two miles wide. In front is a perfectly level rich and beautiful plain of great extent, and diversified by small groves of distant timber, over which is a picturesque view of nearly twenty miles. On the left it is bounded by a branch of the La Mine river, which is handsomely skirted with timber; while still further in this direction the view is bounded by the fanciful undulations of high prairie. Description cannot do justice to such a varied prospect, or the feelings which are excited in beholding it. This being about the time of equinoctial storms, we suffered some inconvenience for two or three days on account of rains and a cool and humid atmosphere. Arrived at Fort Sage, we wrote letters, purchased some medicines, and arranged such affairs as we thought necessary previous to leaving the confines of civilization. The country for several days travel from Fort Osage is very handsomely situated, being high prairie, of exceeding fertility; but timber, unfortunately is scarce. On the Fourth day after leaving the Fort, I was taken sick in consequence of heat and fatigue induced by chasing two elks, which we had wounded the day before, but which had strength sufficient to elude our pursuit. Some others of the company complained of illness about this time but determined not to surrender to trifles, or indulge in delay, until it became absolutely necessary, we continued to travel slowly.

On the 20th we crossed the main Osage, being nearly all sick and much discouraged. It rained severely, and we were under the necessity of stopping to dry our baggage. On the second day after crossing the Osage, we saw many buffaloes, one of which we killed; we also saw several

goats; but they were so sharp sighted and wild that we could not shoot them. This day we encamped on the waters of the Arkansas, after traveling over much uneven prairie, almost entirely covered with flint rock. About this time we encountered two days incessant rain. We halted in a small grove to refresh ourselves, rest our horses and wash our clothes. — We sent out two hunters who killed a deer, and saw some goats and large herds of buffaloes. Late in the evening of Monday the 24th, we reached the Arkansas, having travelled during the day in sight of buffaloes, which are here innumerable. The Arkansas about this place is about three hundred yards wide, very shallow, interrupted by bars, and confined by banks of entire sand, — the water has every appearance of being as muddy as that of the Missouri; we, however, crossed one of its branches whose waters were limpid and beautiful, and which was one hundred yards wide a mile from its mouth. We gave this the name of Hope Creek. These streams afford no timber except a few scattering cottonwoods. It is a circumstance of surprise to us that we have not seen Indians, or fresh sign of them, although we have traversed their most frequented hunting ground; but considering their furtive habits, and predatory disposition, the absence of their company during our journey, will not be a matter of regret. The next day we crossed the Arkansas at a place where it is not more than eighteen inches deep, and encamped on the south bank. We left our encampment early the next morning, and about noon came to a large settlement or town of prairie dogs, which appeared to cover a surface of ten acres. They burrow in the earth, are of a dark brown color, about the size of a pup five or six weeks old, which they nearly resemble in every respect except the ears, which are more like those of the opossum. Having a desire to taste its flesh, I killed one, a small part of which I roasted, but found it strong and unpalatable. Their sense of hearing is acute, and their apprehension of danger so great that the least noise of approach frightens them to their holes, from which they make continual and

vehement barking until a person approaches within fifty or sixty yards of them; they then take to their holes, with their heads elevated above the ground, and continuing barking until the approach is very near, when they disappear instantaneously. They often sit erect with their fore legs hanging down like a bear. We found here a ludicrous looking animal, perfectly unknown to any one of our company, it was about the size of a racoon, of a light gray color, had uncommonly fine fur, small eyes, and was almost covered with long shaggy hair; its toe nails were from one and one half to two inches in length; its meat was tender and delicious. We also killed one of the rabbit species as large as our common fox; it was of a gray color, but its ears and tail were black. It exhibited an agility in running a short distance after it was shot which exceeded anything of the kind we had ever witnessed. We regret the deficiency of our zoological information, which prevents our giving a more scientific and satisfactory accounts of those animals.

The evening of the 28th brought us to some very high hills for this country, composed entirely of sand, which had been in sight all day, exhibiting at a distance a luminous or whitish appearance, and entirely destitute of vegetation. We encamped here, substituting buffalo manure for fuel. Our lodging was very uncomfortable, in consequence of being exposed to torrents of rain, which poured upon us incessantly till day. The next morning we started early and killed a buffalo for breakfast, proceeded again on our journey. At about one o'clock found ourselves on the celebrated salt plain of the Arkansas. It was about one mile wide; its length we did not ascertain. Its appearance was very different from the idea I had formed from the several descriptions which I had seen. This, however, might have been owing to the late heavy rains, that had covered the earth three inches deep with water, which we found to be a strong brine. Under the water was an apparent mixture of salt and sand; and in dry weather I have no doubt the appearance of salt would be much greater.

So far as the eye can reach on every side, the country here appears alive with buffalo and other animals.

About this time we saw five wild horses, being the first we had seen. They had the appearance at a distance, of being fine large animals. Some difficulties now presented themselves, especially the scarcity of food for our horses, and timber for fire.

A continual and almost uninterrupted scene of prairie meets the view as we advance, bringing to mind the lines of Goldsmith:

> "Or onward where Campania's plain forsaken, lies
> "A weary waste, extending to the skies."

The immense number of animals, however, which roam undisturbed, and feed bountifully upon its fertility, gives some interest and variety to the scenery. The wolves sometimes attack the buffaloe; and whenever an attack is contemplated, a company of from ten to twenty divide into two parties, one of which separates a buffalo from his herd, and pursues him, while the others head him. I counted twenty-one wolves one morning in a chase of this kind.

We still continued meandering the Arkansas, but travel very slowly in consequence of the continued ill health of some of the party. Our horses here for the first time attempted to leave the encampment; and one strayed off which we never saw afterwards.

The water of the river is here clear, although the current is much more rapid than where we first struck it. Its bed has graddually become narrower, and its channel consequently deeper. The grass in the low lands is still verdant, but in the high prairie it is so short that a rattlesnake, of which there are vast numbers here, may be seen at the distance of fifty yards; they inhabit holes in the ground.

On the 15th we discovered a lake, which had every appearance of being strongly impregnated with saltpetre. Our horses having become very weak from fatigue and the unfitness of their food, we encamped three days to re-

cruit them and dress some skins for mocasins; during which time we killed three goats and some other game.

On the 21st we arrived at the forks of the river and took the course of the left hand one. The cliffs become immensely high, and the aspect of the country is rugged, wild and dreary. On the evening of the 23rd, we heard the report of a gun, which is the first indication of our being in the neighborhood of Indians.

As yet we have encountered no difficulty for water, but have been destitute of bread or even salt for several weeks. On the 26th we saw large flocks of mountain sheep, one of which I killed. It had long thick hair; its color was of a dirty blue, with a very fine fur next the skin; a black streak extended from its head to its tail, which is short, and of a lighter color than the body; its rump and hams were very similar to those of our domestic sheep.

We had now some cliffs to ascend, which presented difficulties almost insurmountable, and we were laboriously engaged nearly two days in rolling away large rocks before we attempted to get our horses up, and even then one fell and was bruised to death. At length we had the gratification of finding ourselves on the open prairie; and two days travel brought us to the Canadian fork, whose rugged cliffs again threaten to interrupt our passage, which we finally effected with considerable difficulty.

Nov. 1st, we experienced a keen northwest wind, accompanied with some snow. Having been traveling about fifty days, our diet being altogether different from what we had been accustomed to; and unexpected hardships and obstacles occurring almost daily, our company is much discouraged; but the prospect of a near termination of our journey excites hope and redoubled exertion, although our horses are so reduced that we only travel from eight to fifteen miles per day. We found game scarce near the mountains, and one night encamped without food or water.

On the fourth, and several subsequent days, found the country more level and pleasant — discovered abundance of

iron ore, and saw many wild horses. After several days descent towards Rock River, on Monday, the 12th we struck a trail, and found several other indications which induced us to believe that the inhabitants had here herded their cattle and sheep. Timber, consisting of pine and cottonwood, is more plentiful than we have found it for sometime.

On Tuesday morning, the 13th, we had the satisfaction of meeting a party of Spanish troops. Although the difference of our language would not admit of conversation, yet the circumstances attending their reception of us, fully convinced us of their hospitable disposition and friendly feeling. Being likewise in a strange country, and subject to their disposition, our wishes lent their aid to increase our confidence in their manifestations of kindness. The discipline of the officers was strict, and the subjection of the men appeared almost servile. We encamped with them that night and the next day about 1 o'clock, arrived at the village of St. Michael, the conduct of whose inhabitants gave us grateful evidence of civility and welcome. Fortunately I here met with a Frenchman, whose language I imperfectly understand, and I hired him to proceed with us to Santa Fe, in the capacity of an interpreter. We left here early the next morning. During the day passed another village named St. Baw, and the remains of an ancient fortification, supposed to have been constructed by the aboriginal Mexican Indians. The next day, after crossing a mountainous country, we arrived at Santa Fe and were received with apparent pleasure and joy. It is situated in a valley of the mountains, on a branch of the Rio del Norte or North River, and some twenty miles from it. It is the seat of government of the province; is about two miles long and one mile wide, and compactly settled. The day after my arrival I accepted an invitation to visit the Governor, whom I found to be well informed and gentlemanly in manners; his demeanor was courteous and friendly. He asked many questions respecting my country, its people, their manner of living etc; expressed a

desire that the Americans would keep up an intercourse with that country, and said that if any of them wished to emigrate, it would give him pleasure to afford them every facility. The people are generally swarthy and have a state of extreme indolence and ignorance. Their mechanical improvements are very limited and they appear to know little of the benefit of industry, or advantage of the arts. Corn, rice and wheat are their principal productions; they have very few garden vegetables, except the onion which grows large and abundantly; the seeds are planted nearly a foot apart, and produce onions from four to six inches in diameter. Their atmosphere is remarkably dry, and rain is uncommon, except in the months of July and August. To remedy this inconvenience, they substitute with tolerable advantage, the numerous streams which descend from the mountains, by daming them up and conveying the water over their farms in ditches. Their domestic animals consist chiefly of sheep, goats mules and asses. None but the wealthy have horses and hogs. Like the French they live in villages; the rich keeping the poor in dependence and subjection. Laborers are hired for about three dollars per month; their general employment is that of herdsmen and to guard their stock from a nation of Indians called Navohoes, who sometimes murder the guards and drive away their mules and sheep. The circumstance of their farms being wholly unfenced, obliges them to keep their stock some distance from home. The walls of their houses are two or three feet thick, built of sun-dryed brick, and are uniformly one-story high, having a flat roof made of clay, and floors of the same material. They do not know the use of plank, and have neither chairs nor tables, although the rich have a rough imitation of our settee, which answers the treble purpose of chair, table and bedstead.

My company concluded to remain at St. Michael, except Mr. McLaughlin and we left that village December 13, on our return home in company with two other men who had arrived there a few days before, by a different route. At

the time we started the snow was eighteen inches deep, but the quantity diminished as we reached the high lands, which we thought an extraordinary circumstance. On the 17th day of our journey we arrived at the Arkansas and thence shaped our course over the high land which separates the waters of that and the Caw rivers. Among the Caw Indians we were treated hospitably, purchased corn from them, and in forty-eight days from the time of our departure reached home, much to our satisfaction. We did not experience half the hardships anticipated on our return. We had provisions in plenty, but Boreas was sometimes rude, whose unwelcome visits we could not avoid, and whose disagreeable effects our situation often precluded us from guarding against. We had, however, but one storm of snow or rain on our return, but were sometimes three or four days without a stick of timber. In such exigencies we again had recourse to buffalo manure, which is a good substitute for fuel, and emits great heat.

Having made arrangements to return on the 22nd day of May, 1822, I crossed the Arrow Rock ferry, and on the third day our Company consisting of 21 men, with three wagons, concentrated. No obstacle obstructed our progress until we arrived at the Arkansas, which river we crossed with some difficulty, and encamped on the south side. About midnight our horses were frightened by buffalo, and all strayed — 28 were missing. Eight of us, after appointing a place of rendezvous, went in pursuit of them in different directions and found eighteen. Two of this company discovered some Indians, and being suspicious of their intentions, thought to avoid them by returning to camp; but they were overtaken, stripped, barbarously whipped and robbed of their horses, guns and clothes. They came in about midnight, and the circumstance occasioned considerable alarm. We had a strong desire to punish these rascally Osages who commit outrages on those very citizens from who they receive regular annuities. One other man was taken by the same party to their camp, and probably would have shared like treatment

had not the presence of Mr. Chouteau restrained their savage dispositions. He sent word to me that he had recovered the horses and guns which had been taken from our men, and requested me to come on the next morning and receive them. On our arrival at his camp we found it evacuated, but a short note written on bark instructed me to follow him up the Autawge river. This we declined thinking that his precipitate retreat indicated some stratagem or treachery. These Indians should be more cautiously avoided and strictly guarded against than any others on the route.

Mr. Heath's company on the same route joined us here. The hiliarity and sociability of this gentleman often contributed to disperse the gloomy images which very naturally presented themselves on a journey of such adventure and uncertainty. After six days of incessant fatigue in endeavoring to recover all our horses, we once more left our camp, and after traveling eight days up the Arkansas, struck a South-west course for the Spanish country. Our greatest difficulty was in the vicinity of Rock river, where we were under the necessity of taking our wagons up some high and rocky cliffs by hand.

We arrived again at St. Michael in 22 days from the Arkansas. We saluted the inhabitants with 3 rounds from our rifles, with which they appeared much pleased. With pleasure I here state, that the utmost harmony existed among our company on the whole route, and acknowledge the cheerfulness with which asssistance was always rendered to each other. We separated at St. Michael for the purpose of trading more advantageously. Some of the company, among whom was Mr. Heath, remained there, and others I did not see again until my return. On our return we took a different course from that pursued on our way out, which considerably shortened the route, and arrived at Fort Osage in 48 days.

Those who visit that country for the purpose of vending merchandise will do well to take goods of excellent quality and unfaded colors,--An idea prevails among the people

there, which certainly is a very just one, that the goods hitherto imported into their country, were the remains of an old stock and sometimes damaged. A very great advance is obtained on goods and the trade very profitable; money and mules are plenty, and they do not hesitate to pay the price demanded for an article if it suits their purposes, or their fancy. The administration of their government, although its form is changed, is still very arbitrary, and the influence which monarchy had on the minds and manners of the people still remains, which is displayed by the servility of the lower orders to the wealthy.

An excellent road may be made from Fort Osage to Santa Fe. Few places would require much labor to render them passable, and a road might be so laid out as not to run more than thirty miles over the mountains.

"None of the actors in those scenes can fail to recur with some pleasure, to the gayeties of 1827–8 at Jefferson Barracks. One of the regiments was in cantonment on the south side of the first hill; a quarter of a mile further on, another, the 6th infantry, was encamped; on the crest of the next hill, were extensive stone barracks in progress; and still lower down, on its southern declivity, were encamped the first infantry; some staff and other officers, with their families, were in huts in various detached situations. Two of the regiments had, a few months before, arrived from a remote outpost. * * * On the 8th of January, the 1st gave a splendid ball in an unfinished barrack; a noble display of flags was above and around us, with hundreds of bright muskets with a candle in the muzzle of each. Many from St. Louis were there; and Louisville, too, had several beautiful representatives." — Philip St. George Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures in the Army.*

THE CASE OF POURÉE AGAINST CHOUTEAU.

The documents here reprinted are among the records of the St. Louis Circuit Court. The remaining records of cases tried in the time of the Spanish Domination are comparatively few in number, but of great interest. Upon the organization of the American Courts, it would seem that these records were little valued, and no great care taken for their preservation. Many papers, and in some instances the complete files of cases have disappeared. Recently the court has ordered that those remaining be classified, arranged and bound into volumes in order to insure their preservation. And, from time to time, those of general interest will be published in these COLLECTIONS.

In preparing the present case for publication, it has been thought desirable to give it in the original languages, as well as in a somewhat free translation. No rule was observed in the Spanish Courts in Missouri requiring the use of the Spanish language. The parties used their native tongues, and in some cases we find Spanish, French and English. And it was so largely with the Lieutenant Governors (lieutenants to the governor at New Orleans). Cruzat always uses Spanish; Trudeau, his successor, uses Spanish generally, French occasionally, Delassus who succeeded Trudeau, makes use, in most cases of French. Demers, the hussier, makes his returns in the French language only; his sucessor, Mariano Izaguirre, who describes himself as "*Sargento Segundo de la Tropa*" (second sergeant of the troops) uses only Spanish.

No references have been found in any of the records by which the system of law administered can be determined. There seems to be no doubt, however, that in Missouri the customs of Paris continued to govern, except as changed by special orders.

Lefebvre and Labusciere who came to this side of the river

in 1765, were lawyers, but Lefebvre died in April, 1767, and in 1781 or 1782 Labusciere recrossed the river and died at Cahokia, 29 April, 1791. There is no lawyer mentioned in the census of 1787, which gives the occupation of each inhabitant, and none are mentioned in the records of cases. It seems safe to say, therefore, that there were no practising lawyers in what is now Missouri from the departure of Labusciere until the transfer of the country. Many of the citizens were educated men and no doubt had a practical knowledge of the laws which qualified them to arrive at just decisions when called upon to act as arbitrators.

A Monsieur Don Francois de Cruzat, Lieutenant Colonel d'infantrie, Lieutenant Couverneur et Commandant en chef de la partie Occidentale des Illinois.

Monsieur:

Eugenne Pourrée à L'honneur de vous exposer tres Respectueusement, qu'il auroit armé un Bateau à la Nlle Orleans, le 22 Mars dernier, dans lequel il à mis à fret des effects pour divers particuliers (aux conditions ordinaires de la marine) ayant été attaqué à la riviere des yasoux par un party d'anglais, il fut obligé de descender aux Natchez l'a, il fut constraint d'augmenter les gagés des Engagés pour leurs faire continuer le voyage (il convint avec eux en presence de Mr. de Grand Pré), ils partirent aprés cette convention à la compagnie de deux Bateaux (Les Sieurs Alvarés et Vallé) pour continuer le voyage.

Etant à la Riviere St. François ils firent recontre du Bateau du Sr. Labbadie quil venoit d' Etre pris et Pillé aux ecors a Margot, instruit par lui du dangers qu'il y avoit à continuer le voyage, ils resolurent de Rellacher aux Arkansas, pour eviter de retomber entres les mains de ces Brigants, ce qui auroit été indubitable s'ils eussent continué routte, arrivé au dit poste el Loua pour le compte des chargeurs un magazin dans Lequel il fut dechargé le cargaison du Bateau, et fut obligé de congedier son equipage.

Quelques temps aprés ils surent que les Brigants qui

etoit aux ecors s'etoit retiré dans le nation Chikachas; voyant le deperissement de la cargaison dans ce porte, il resolut de faire un second armement pour le faire il fut obligé de faire descendre d'icy une partie de son equipage et de prendre l'autre aux Arkansas, il fit embarquer tous les Effets qu'il avoit dechargés, persuadé que les affraiteurs ne feroit aucune difficultés de payer chaqu'un à proportion de ce quil avoit dans le Bateau.

Mais quelle à Eté la surprise du suppliant, aprés avoir travaillé comme il à fait, pour la conservation de la ditte cargaison, de voir le sieur Chouteau Refuser de Rentrer pour sa côte part dans les fraix du dit armement, ignore til qu'un navirequi est obligé de desarmer (je dis desarmer) en routte par force majeure, les affraiteurs sont obligés de payer au maitre les fraix en entiere, comme si le navire avoit fait son voyage et si le maitre fait un second armement; les affraiteurs sont obligés de payer les fraix à proportion de ce quils ont dans le navire, ou?, veut-il eluder par les faux arguments un payement qui est Dû si legitimement au suppliant, C'est pourquoy Monsieur, le suppliant à Recours a votre justice, pour quil vous plaire d'ordonner au sieur Chouteau, de payer sans delay sa part des sus dits fraix ce sera justice.

St. Louis, le 7 9bre, 1782.

Etat des fraix j'ai faits depuis mon Rellache aux Natchez aprés que j'ai été attaqué à la Riviere des Yasoux.

Sçavoir.

Payé à des Chachtas pour faire la decouverte j'usquà lariviere des yasoux, pour le conserva tion du Bateau, 405

Payé à des arkansas quils sont venus avec nous jusquà la riviere St. Francois, doû nous avons reluchez aux arcs, 430

idem pour une maison Louée aux Arkansas,pour servir de magazin pour la cargaison du Bateau 75

idem 150 voyages de charettes pour le charge et decharge du bateau a 1 5 187.10

idem 2 hommes que j'ai gardés pour avoir soin de la cargaison, 180

idem 10 hommes que j'ai fait descendre des Illinois pour former l'armement des Arkansas icy 9 hommés à 45 piastres et un à 53 P 2290

Idem 12 hommes engagés aux Arkansas pour completter l'equipage à 50 Piast. Chaqe, 3000 lb

Pour le Patron, 500 3500

Idem 1700 lb de Bisquit aux Arkansas a 28 Piast, Le% 2380

Idem 800 lb de Lard, 200 aux Arkansas, et 600 lb que j'ai fait descendre d'icy a 25 sols 1000

Idem 3 Barils de Grû a 17 lb 51

Idem 5lbs de poudre et 17 lbs Balles donne aux Illinois aux 10 hommes quils sont descendres 87

Idem 6 lb de poudre et 12 lb balles aux autres 102

189

10687.10

Suite et montant de L'autre Part 10687.10

4 thiercons de taffia pour L'Equipage a 80 piastres 1600.

12287 lb 10

il y avoit dans le Bateau le valleur de 112 Bariques, de Sorte que chaq^e B/que doit payer 109 lb, 14 s. 1 d.

Sinifiguese el presente Memorial a Dn Augustin Chouteau para que responda a su contenido.

S^a Luis de Illins. 14 de Nov^re 1782.

Cruzat.

Notifié la presente a M. Auguste Chouteau Parlant a sa personne en son Domicile pour Repondre a son contenu.

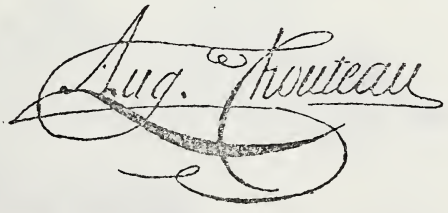
A St. Louis le 14 9^{bre}1782.

Demers hss.

Monsieur Don Franco Cruzat Lieutenant Colonel Gradue, du Regiment d'Infanterie de Grenadiers, de la N^{elle} Orleans, Commandant en Chef et Lieutenant Gouverneur de la partie occidentalle des Illinois.

Monsieur.

Le Deffendeur a l'honneur de vous exposer tres respectueusement que Messieurs Lioto et favre Negt de la Nouvelle Orleans luy auroit addressé par M^{r}. Bosoleil cent vingt tierçons de tafiar dont ils ont payé le fret sur le lieu (ainsi que le porte le Reconnaissement) en vertue de quoy le suppliant ne croit pas etre dans le cas de payer un second fret a M^{r}. Bosoleil pour avoir désarmé aux arcs, et fait und second armement, comme il le dit dans sa requette; le Deffendeur vous supplié Monsiur de vouloir observer que cela feroit grand tort aux affréteurs que defrayé deux fois le fret d'une pacotille embarquer dans un Bateau dont le fret déjà été payé avant qu'il sort Du port, cest pourquoy Le Deffendeur espere Monsieur, que vous voudrés Bien de debouter Monsieur Bosoleil des ses Demande se faisant, vous ferai Droit, a St. Louis, le 14 9^{bre}, 1782.



Visto: Seordena à Du Eugenio Purre y a Dn Augustin Choteau nombren cado uno un arbitro para que de aguerdo con un tercero que se nombrará por este Tribunal decidan y determinen definitibamente esta causa — segun el derecho de cada parte, y hagaseles saber este Decreto. Sn Luis de Ilins, 14 de Nov^{re} de 1782.

Cruzat.

Notifié la presente aux parties, parlant a leur personne en leur Domiciles a St. Louis des Illinois de 14 9^{bre} 1782.

Demers hss.

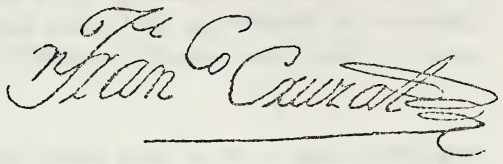
Nous arbitres sous signés només par les parties et assemblés le quinze de Novembre dix sept cent quatre vingt deux par ordre de Monsieur François de Cruzat, Lieutenant colonel gradué et Lieutenant Governeur de la partie occidentale des Ilinois et ses Dependencies pour Juger les Differents entre Monsr Eugene Pouré Dit Beausoliel marchand, maitre de Batteau, demandeur, et Auguste Chouteau, commettant pour messieurs Lioto et favre negociants a la Nouv^{lle} Orlean affreteurs et defendeurs, aprés avoir oui Les parties et Leurs Declarations, concidere leurs Demandes, et visité leurs comptes, nous avons, unanimement opine aprés mure Deliberation que les affreteurs ne devoient payer pour fret et port de chaque Barique a eux appartenante et chargée sur le Batteau de Monsieur Beausoleil a la Nouv^{lle} Orlean, que sieze livres quartre sols quatre deniers en sus du fret accordé a ce dernier Dans le dit Lieu suivant conventions reciproques pour augmentation De Frets faits pendant le tems de Sa Detention seulement aux arks et faits indespensablement pendant La route du d^{t} Sieur Beausoleil pour la conservation Des effets contenus Dans Le dt. Batteau.

M. Lapin

Benito Vasquez

Cerré

Vistos: Seordena a Dⁿ Eugenio Purre y Dⁿ Augustin Choteau se conformarse a la Decicion antecedente dada pour los Arbitros nombrados, y hagaseles saber. Sⁿ Luis de Ilins, 16 de Nobiembre de 1782.



Notifie le presente aux parties parlant a leur personne en leur Domicile faisant La dt declaration, et sentence cy dessus. Fait a St. Louis des Illinois le 16 9 bre 1782.

Demers, hss.

To Mr. Francis de Cruzat, Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Western part of the Illinois.

Sir:

Eugene Pourreé[1] has the honor to make known to you, very respectfully, that he equipped a bateau at New Orleans the 22d of March, last, in which he received freight for several persons subject to the ordinary conditions of carriage by water. Having been attacked at the Yazoo

[1] Eugene Pouré is one of the few Missourians who has a place in the school reading books. Our children are there told of one of his adventures with Mississippi river pirates, which may be true, but it is stated to have occurred in 1787, whereas Pouré died in 1783. His name first appears in the St. Louis Archives as a party to an instrument which was executed 3 June, 1767. Whence he came is unknown. The people of that time frequently stated the place of their nativity in their wills, but he did not do so. Pouré, was an active man; besides being captain of militia, he was as this case shows, a merchant and a ship master. He also owned several pieces of real estate in and near St. Louis. His home was on Market street in the west half of block 60 east of the Court House. In 1781, leaving St. Louis 2 January, he led a party of sixty-five militia men and sixty Indians across what is now the State of

River by a party of English, he was compelled to descend to Natchez, where he was constrained to increase the wages of his employees in order to have them continue the voyage (he agreed with them in presence of Mr. de Grand Pré.[1]) They departed after that agreement in company with two bateaux (of Messrs. Alvarez and Vallé[2]) to continue the voyage.

Illinois and captured the British post of St. Joseph in Michigan. He raised there the Spanish flag and took formal possession of the post and its dependences and of the river of the Illinois in the name and on behalf of the King of Spain. The British flag captured at the post, he brought back to St. Louis and delivered it to Governer Cruzat. He made his will before Pedro Oliver, Lieutenant of the stationary regiment of Louisiana and Commandant *ad interim* of the "Pueblo de San Luis," 5 January, 1783, and was buried in the old Second Street Cemetery 30 April, 1783. His widow Maria Josepha Godeau was his sole heretrix, they having no children. She continued his business of carrier of goods on the Mississippi for several years. Her name appears among the witnesses in a law suit in 1787; after that no trace of her can be found.

[1] "Don Carlos de Grand Pré was a Frenchman who held important positions in the Spanish service. In 1779, he aided Galvez in his capture of British Florida, and was left by the latter in command of the port at Baton Rouge. In 1788, he commanded the Natchez District, but made himself unpopular to the American inhabitants, whereupon he was superseded by Gayoso de Lemos. Upon the latter's promotion to the governorship of Louisiana, Grandpré was again detailed for Natchez; but on account of the protests of the inhabitants, was removed in favor of Minor. When Louisiana was transfered to the United States, Grandpré was commandant at Baton Rouge. The American inhabitants of the district began a revolt, which Grandpré severely repressed.

Upon the successful revolt of the same province, in 1810, a son of the Commandant was killed while defending the post of Baton Rouge. During the British advance against New Orleans, Grandpré sided with his former enemies, and boarded one of their war ships. His later history is unknown." *Cumming's Tour of the West*; Thwaites' Edition p. 343. Editor's note. From Pourée's statement it would appear that Grandpré was in command at Natchez much earlier than 1788.

Alexander and Gabriel de Grandpré were appointed from Louisiana, third lieutenants in the 44th infantry, 1 March, 1814, and honorably discharged, 15 June, 1815.

[2] Eugenio Alvarez was, according to Billon, born in Madrid, Spain, about 1736, was a Spanish soldier, and came to St. Louis with Piernas in 1770. The census of 1787, gives his age as 37 years, and his occupation as that of merchant. He lived in the house formerly owned by Pouré, on the north side of Market Street, a little West of the middle line be-

Having reached the river St. Francis he met the bateau of Mr. Labbadie[1] which had been captured and pillaged at Margot's[2] bluffs. Instructed by him as to the dangers to be encountered in continuing the voyage, they resolved to put into port at Arkansas to avoid falling into the hands of the brigands, which would undoubtedly have happened if they had continued on their way. Having arrived at that post[3] he rented a warehouse for the account of the shippers in which he stored the cargo of the bateau, and was obliged to dismiss his men.

tween Second and Third Streets. This place was still occupied by his sons in 1821. Alvarez, in his old age, was the king's military store keeper. He died in June, 1816.

Vallé. The Census of 1787, gives no residents of St. Louis by this name. In Sainte Genevieve were Charles Vallé, a farmer, aged 35; Don François Vallé, Sub-lieutenant of Militia, aged 29; Don Jean Baptiste Vallé, farmer, aged 27; Don Charles Vallé, Lieutenant of Militia, aged 36. In Saint Charles, was Charles Vallé, a farmer aged 46. The Vallé's of Ste. Genevieve were the largest slave owners in Missouri at that time; Jean Baptiste being the owner of thirty-seven, and François of thirty-nine; both were large producers of wheat, tobacco, corn and salt. The owner of the bateau mentined by Pouré was probably Don Charles.

[1] Sylvestre Labbadie son of Dominic Labaddie and Anne Beclac, was born, as he testified, in Vigonia in France about 1741. His name appears in the archives of St. Louis for the first time in 1769. He was a merchant, and, in 1773, was associated in business with his future brother-in-law, Joseph M. Papin. He married, 27 July, 1776, Pelagie, the second daughter of Madame Chouteau. He died, 19 June, 1794.

[2] The *Ecores de Margot* were the lower, or fourth, Chickasaw Bluffs. hey are situated at the junction of the *riviere à Margot* (now Wolf River) with the Mississippi, where now stands the City of Memphis. The French built there in 1739 Fort Assumption and the Spanish in 1794 built a little below, Fort St. Ferdinand de Barancas.

[3] "The post or town of Arkansaw is about forty-five miles above the entrance of that stream into the Mississippi. This is one of the most ancient establisments in Louisiana, being formed before the beginning of the last century. Its advance has not been in proportion to its duration. It has remained poor and inconsiderable, like all other places where the inhabitants depend upon hunting and trade with savages for their subsistence and commerce. The inhabitants are mostly French, many of them of mixed blood." William Darby, The Emigrant's Guide, N. Y. 1818. This post was established by some of Tonti's men in 1686. Laclède is said to have had a warehouse at this place. The town still exists, and is the oldest in the Mississippi Valley.

Sometime afterwards learning that the brigands who had been at the bluffs had retired to the Chickasaw nation and considering the depreciation of the cargo in the port where it was, he resolved to make a second outfit to bring it up. He was obliged to send down from here a part of his equipment and to obtain the other part at Arkansas. He caused to be embarked all of the goods that he had discharged, being persuaded that the shippers would not make any difficulties about paying each one in proportion to that which he had in the bateau.

But what was the surprise of the plaintiff, after having labored as he had done for the preservation of the said cargo, to see Mr. Chouteau refuse to contribute his part in the expense of said equipment. Is he ignorant that if a ship-master is obliged by superior force to lay up on the voyage the shippers are obliged to pay to the master the entire expense just as if the voyage had been completed; and if the master makes a second equipment, the shippers are obliged to pay the expenses in proportion to that which they had in the ship? Or, does he wish to elude by false arguments a payment which is so fairly due to the plaintiff? This is why, Sir, the plaintiff has recourse to your justice; for if it pleases you to order Mr. Chouteau to pay without delay his part of the said expenses that will be justice.

EUGENE POURÉE.

Statement of the expenses I have made since my putting in at Natchez after I was attacked at the Yazoo river.

Be it known.

Paid to the Choctaws for reconnoitering to the Yazoo river for the preservation of the bateau	405
Paid to the Arkansas [Indians] who came with us to the St. Francis river whence we put in at Arkansas [Post]	430
idem for a house rented at Arkansas to serve as a storehouse for the cargo of the bateau	75

idem 150 trips of the carts for loading and unloading the bateau at 1 5		187 10
idem 2 men whom I kept to take care of the cargo		180
idem 10 men whom I sent down from the Illinois to man the bateau from Arkansas here—		
9 men at 45 piastres and one at 53 P.		2290
idem 12 men engaged at Arkansas to complete the equipment at 50 piastres each	3000	
For the Patron	500	3500
idem 1700 lbs of biscuit at Arkansas at 28 piastres the %		2380
idem 800 lbs of bacon, 200 at Arkansas and 600 lbs which I have sent from here at 25 sols		1000
idem 3 barrels of Groats at 17		51
idem 5 lbs of powder and 12 lbs balls given at the Illinois to 10 men who were sent down	87	
idem 6 lbs powder and 11 lbs of balls to the others	102	189
		10687 10
Continuation and brought forward from the other side		10687 10
4 casks of rum for the men at 80 piastres		1600
		12287 10

There were in the bateau the value of 112 hogsheads, consequently each hogshead ought to pay 109 lb 14s 1d.[1]

Make known the present memorial to Don Auguste Chouteau, that he may answer to its contents.

St. Louis of the Illinois, 14 November, 1782.

CRUZAT.

[1] The character used by the writer cannot be exactly reproduced in print, but it seems to be the mark for livre — lb. The s is for sols, the d for denier. Treating the unit of account as the livre, the total amount of the claim amounts to something over $245.

Made these presents known to M. August Chouteau, speaking to him in person in his domicile, that he respond to the contents thereof.

At St. Louis the 14th of September, 1782.

DEMERS, HUISSIER [1]

Mr. Francisco Cruzat Lieutenant Colonel by brevet of the Infantry Regiment of Grenadiers of New Orleans, Commander in Chief and Lieutenant-Governor of the western part of the Illinois

Sir:

The defendant has the honor to make known to you, very respectfully, that Messrs. Lioto and Favre, merchants of New Orleans shipped to him by Mr. Bosoleil one hundred and twenty tierces of tafia for which they paid the freight on the spot (as appears from the receipt) on account of which the suppliant does not believe that he ought to pay a second freight to Mr. Bosoleil for having laid up at Arkansas and made a second equipment, as he says in his petition. The defendant prays you, Monsieur, to please observe that it would be a great wrong to shippers to have to pay a second time the freight upon a venture embarked in a bateau, upon which the freight had already been paid before it left port. Wherefore the defendant hopes, Monsieur, that you will dismiss the claim of Mr. Bosoleil; so doing you will do right. At St. Louis, the 14th November, 1782.

AUG^te^ CHOUTEAU.

Having examined the foregoing, it is ordered that Don Eugenio Pouré and Don Auguste Chouteau each name an arbiter who shall choose a third whom they shall name for this tribunal which shall finally decide and determine this cause according to the right of each party; and make this decree known to them.

CRUZAT.

[1] François Demers, was buried in the church cemetery 17 July, 1786. His age was 74 years. *Huissier* is the name of an office similar to that of Marshal or Constable. Demers held the office in 1779, perhaps earlier.

Made these presents known to the parties, speaking to them in person in their domiciles. At St. Louis of the Illinois, the 14th of November, 1782.

DEMERS, HUISSIER.

We the undersigned arbiters named by the parties, having assembled the fifteenth day of November seventeen hundred and eighty two, by order of Mr. Francis de Cruzat, Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet, and Lieutenant-Governor of the western part of the Illinois and its dependencies, to judge of the controversy between Mr. Eugene Pouré called Beausoleil, Merchant, Master of a bateau, plantiff, and Auguste Chouteau, consignee of Messieurs Lioto and Favre, merchants at New Orleans, shippers and defendants, after having heard the parties and their statements, considered their demands and inspected their accounts, we have unanimously decided after mature deliberation that the shippers ought not to pay for freight and portage upon each hogshead belonging to them and shipped upon the bateau of Mr. Beausoleil at New Orleans excepting sixteen livres four sols and four deniers, over and above the freight accorded to the latter at the said place according to reciprocal conventions, for augmentation of freight caused during the time only of his detention at Arkansas and made indispensable during the voyage of said Mr. Beausoleil for the preservation of the goods contained in said bateau.

J. M. PAPIN.

BENITO VASQUEZ. CERRÉ.

Having examined the above, it is ordered that Don Eugenio Purre and Don Augustin Choteau conform to the foregoing decision given by the arbiters named; and made it known to them.

St. Louis of the Illinois, 16th of November, 1782.

FRAN^{co} CRUZAT.

Made known these presents to the parties; speaking to them in person in their domiciles, making the said declaration and sentence aforesaid.

Done at St. Louis of the Illinois, the 16th of November, 1782.

DEMERS, *Huissier.*

NOTES.

Circumstances have made it necessary for the MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS to be an occasional publication instead of a quarterly as intended. The Society is now in a position to issue the COLLECTIONS regularly, and the next number, which will appear in a short time, will conclude volume two. This Volume will consist of the four issues of the Collections, Personal Recollections of General Grant, by Dr. William Taussig, A History of Battery A of St. Louis; with an account of the early Artillery Companies from which it is descended, by V. Mott Porter, Esq., and The Montezuma Mounds; Explored by N. D. McEvers, John M. Wulfing and David I. Bushnell, by Gerard Fowke.

At the May, 1906, meeting of the Missouri Historical Society action was taken upon a matter which had been under discussion for several years. The great importance of the property of the Society, together with its large money value, caused a feeling of solicitude on the part of many members, who feared that in some way it might be dispersed and lost to those for whose benefit so much disinterested work, had been done in acquiring it. To prevent the possibility of such an occurrence the following resolution was adopted.

"*Resolved* That the Constitution of this Society be amended by adding to Article II thereof the following words:—

To hold all its land, premises, improvements, collections of books, manuscripts, portraits, prehistoric remains, relics, moneys, *choses in action*, and all its property and effects of every kind and description, now owned or hereafter acquired, In Trust for the use and benefit of the people of the State of Missouri, forever; this Society reserving to itself the right and power at all times:—

1. To retain, at the City of St. Louis, the custody of all of said property and collections, forever.

2. To borrow money for the purpose of acquiring necessary real estate, or for erecting, or (altering or adding to a building upon real estate owned by it) a building for the housing of said collections, and as security for the re-payment of any sum or sums so borrowed may encumber only its real estate.

3. To sell, exchange, or dispose of, as may reasonably appear to it to be for the interest of its *cestuis que trustent*, and in furtherance of the purposes of the Society, any or all of its real property, and any article or articles from its collections, applying the proceeds thereof to the purposes of this trust, having in view always the acquisition, preservation, and exhibition of the best possible collection of such articles of historical value and interest as it is the object of the Society to collect and preserve.

4. To have exclusive right to determine the policy to be observed in carrying out the purposes of this trust, controlled only by the rules of law in such cases provided."

The provision, for sale, exchange, or disposal of property and articles, was intended to cover real estate and such articles as are duplicates of articles retained, and such things as may be acquired by the Society which are foreign to its purposes.

For the absolute protection and safety of the Society's property the only thing now needed is a fire proof building.

The private papers and correspondence of the late Judge Samuel Treat, has through kindness of surviving members

of his family, come as a fortunate accession to the Missouri Historical Society Collections. These papers contain much biographical and historical data of rare value and comprise many auto-chirographic letters from the most eminent statesmen and jurists in the English speaking world. The papers cover a period from 1836 down to the end of Judge Treat's distinguished career.

The large and illustrative collection of State and private bank notes, made by the late Edward G. Moses during his nearly half a century of active life as a banker, and intended for preservation in some public institution, came near to destruction soon after the death of Mr. Moses by a paternalistic construction of an ultra-moral statute; but through the disinterested appeals of Hon. Chas. F. Joy and Dr. WJ McGee to Hon. Secretary Leslie M. Shaw the valuable collection was saved and Mrs. Moses has generously executed the design of her late husband by donating the collection to the Missouri Historical Society. This collection covers a banking period of three quarters of a century and probably has not a duplicate in the country.

In the effort to collect the original sources of the history of our State the Society has suffered, in one instance, a severe disappointment. It was at the request of historians of other states as well as of our own, that a search was made for the manuscripts known as the Menard papers, or the St. Gem collection, to find that they had been destroyed by persons who did not know their historical value. These papers had been examined in past years by interested persons and their importance to historians was known. They comprised the family papers, letters, receipts, accounts, and concessions of land, of one of the early families of the Mississippi Valley, that of St. Gem de Beauvais. Jean Baptiste St. Gem came from Canada. He was married at or near Fort Chartres to Marie Louise Lacroix in 1725.

The St. Gem family papers, among them many relating to the business enterprise of this pioneer, would throw a light on the early history of Illinois and upon the development of the settlement in Missouri at Ste. Genevieve. Indeed, it was through a reference to these family papers that the approximate date of the founding of Ste. Genevieve, 1735, was found by Captain Gustavus St. Gem. It was at the house of Jean Baptiste St. Gem that Colonel George Rogers Clark took up his headquarters after his capture of Kaskaskia in 1778. In fact, the St. Gem papers would be invaluable to the student of history. Their loss is incalculable.

The Sublette-Smith-Ashley-Campbell letters and papers relating to the fur trade on the Upper Missouri, to the Santa Fe trade, and to the Mexican War period form a collection of great interest. Beginning in 1827 they illustrate the progress of commerce in the west up to the year 1860. For years these papers, numbering several hundred, were in the custody of the late Mr. Melvin L. Gray. Through the kind interest of his niece and heir, Miss Eva Gray, these papers were presented to the Historical Society.

In 1811 Mr. Joseph Hertzog, a well-to-do merchant of Philadelphia, sent his nephews, Christian and Andrew Wilt, to St. Louis to take charge of a branch trading house. The Wilts engaged in the smelting of lead, they had a soap factory, and they conducted a general trading business here. The correspondence between the St. Louis partners and their uncle in Philadelphia between the years 1811 and 1815 has been preserved in two manuscript volumes. The letters not only reflect trade conditions of the time, but tell much local news. Mr. William Hertzog Collins, a grandson of Joseph Hertzog, has presented these interesting books to us, making a notable addition to our manuscript collection.

General George R. Smith, the founder of Sedalia, and one of the early promoters of the Pacific Railway, now the Missouri Pacific, had correspondence with many of the most prominent men of Missouri of his day. His letters, presented to the Society by his daughters, Mrs. M. E. Smith and Mrs. S. E. Cotton, cover a period from 1836 to 1880. Among the papers are copies of minutes and reports of meetings of directors of the Pacific Railway.

Through the interest of Mr. Isaac H. Orr. executor of the late Mr. Melvin L. Gray, the Records of the Executive Committee of the State Union Club of Missouri, 1861-62, with letters and papers, have been added to our collection. These papers, together with the Constitution and by-laws of the "Old Guard" St. Louis, organized 13 August, 1862, with letters and papers, from Miss Eva Gray form a valuable aggregation of historical material relating to the Civil War in Missouri.

A collection of papers, numbering thirty in all, from Mr. Lewis Guibourd, consisting of his family papers, including land grants, petitions to governors, correspondence, and receipts, and known as the Guibourd Collection has recently been presented to the Society. These papers relate to the early French settlement of Missouri, from 1752 to 1809.

Political conditions in Missouri in the time immediately following the transfer of Upper Louisiana in 1804 are illustrated by a number of letters written to Judge J. B. C. Lucas by prominent men through the state. These letters have been presented by the grandson and namesake of Judge Lucas, Mr. J. B. C. Lucas.

The Society has lately acquired a census of Upper Louisiana for 1787, giving the names of heads of families, the given names of other members, and number of slaves with a statement of the produce of each householder, and the number of buildings erected in that year in Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, St. Charles, Carondelet and Meramec. Another census of Upper Louisiana for 1791 has also been acquired.

For these valuable documents the Society is greatly indebted to Dr. F. Franklin Jameson. Except for his kind interest they would have remained buried in the Cuban National Archives at Havana.

It is a special aim of the Society to collect material relating to the Civil War in Missoûri. Too many of our state records have been lost. It is a matter of particular congratulation, therefore, that we have obtained the Confederate Order Book of the Trans-Mississippi Department, 1862-64. This large manuscript volume was acquired partly as a gift from the Confederate Memorial Society of Missouri. It contains reports and orders of Price, Marmaduke, Shelby, Cabell, and much other material relating to the Department of Arkansas.

Another addition to our Confederate history collection of great value is the Roster of the officers of General M. M. Parsons' Division, Missouri Troops, C. S. A., 1865, which comes to us as a gift from General Parsons' sister, Mrs. Mildred P. Standish.

The Constitution and by-laws, list of members, and proceedings of the meetings of the Democratic Associa-

tion of St. Louis County, from 1839 to 1842, form a co lection of papers of great interest. They were given to the Society by Mr. H. W. Eliot.

The Society has had a number of interesting papers read at its monthly meetings in the last year. On October 20, 1905, Mr. Charles A. Krone read the first of a series of papers on his personal reminiscences of early plays and players in St, Louis. The second chapter of these interesting reminiscences was read before a meeting of the Society November 17, 1905. On December 12, Mrs. E. E. Hull, (Lizzie Chambers), read a paper before the Society entitled "Personal Reminiscences of a trip through Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas in Civil War." At the same meeting Mr. Gerard Fowke read his Report on Surface Deposits in St. Louis County and Southward. The Society's annual meeting was held on January 19, 1906.

On February 12, 1906, Captain Robert McCulloch presented a paper of great interest entitled "The History of Street Railways in St. Louis." Mr. Krone read the third chapter of his Reminiscences of Plays and Players on March 17, 1906, and on April 17 Mr. Walter J. Blakely delivered an address on "The Life and Work of Jan. A. McGahan," the noted war correspondent and a St. Louis boy.

On May 25, 1906, the following memorial addresses were made before the Society: Melvin L. Gray, by Judge Shepard Barclay; John S. Marmaduke, by Mr. John F. Lee, Charles Parsons, by Gen. John W. Noble.

The Society's gallery of portraits of leading Missourians of former days, has recently received many additions. It is, however, by no means complete, and the absence of certain faces is frequently commented upon by visitors.

Among the later gifts are portraits of General John S. Marmaduke, governor of Missouri, 1884-1887; Colonel John O'Fallon, soldier, business man and philanthropist; Major Benjamin O'Fallon, brother of the foregoing, distinguished for the valuable services rendered by him to the United States government in the Indian department; Arthur Lee, Esq., a lawyer and public man of high standing; Melvin L. Gray, Esq., a man greatly esteemed as a lawyer and a citizen, for many years an officer of this society and its benefactor, and Jan. A. McGahan, a St. Louis boy, who became famous as a war correspondent and liberator of Bulgaria. All of these portraits will be reproduced in "half-tone" in the COLLECTIONS.

A portrait of General Frank P. Blair was presented by his daughter, Mrs. Christine Blair Graham, who also gave to the Society a portrait of Senator Thomas H. Benton once owned and liked by her father.

A portrait of Mrs. Rebecca W. Sire was presented by Miss Anna B. Green and Mrs. William McLanahan, Jr.

The family of Mr. George Mook presented a large oil painting of the McDowell Medical College, known in Civil War time as the Gratiot Street Prison.

Mr. Joseph Mills Hanson gave to the Society a map of St. Louis in 1864 showing the line of forts built for the defense of the city in that year.

Miss Eulalia Philibert gave an interesting relic of pioneer times in St. Louis, a handmade walnut wardrobe, made by Jean Baptiste Ortes prior to 1780. The walnut was cut from a grove of trees that extended from the levee to Vine street.

A gift to the library of great interest was made a short time ago when the "Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, seven volumes and an atlas was presented. The same generous friend gave the Jefferson sun dial which once stood in the grounds at Monticello and made by Jefferson's own hands.

Mr. William Lucas has presented a number of books of great value and of much archaeological interest. Within the past few months he has added to his gift by sending Lyell's Travels in North America, the first and second visits, four volumes in all.

Professor Garland C. Broadhead lately gave to the society the compass used by James Mackey.

Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin O'Fallon recently presented a number of interesting books for the library, among them a perfect copy of the Journal of Patrick Gass, one of the men who accompanied Lewis and Clark.

Miss Mary Walker Triplett gave a number of books from the library of her late father, among them a fine copy of Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies and the Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Established 1866

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The annual dues are five dollars.

The Library and Collections of the Missouri Historical Society are open to the public and visitors are always welcome.

Gifts of portraits, manuscripts, biographical sketches, old letters, books and relics, illustrative of the history of the State and its people, will be gladly received.

All persons interested are solicited to become members. Correspondence should be addressed to

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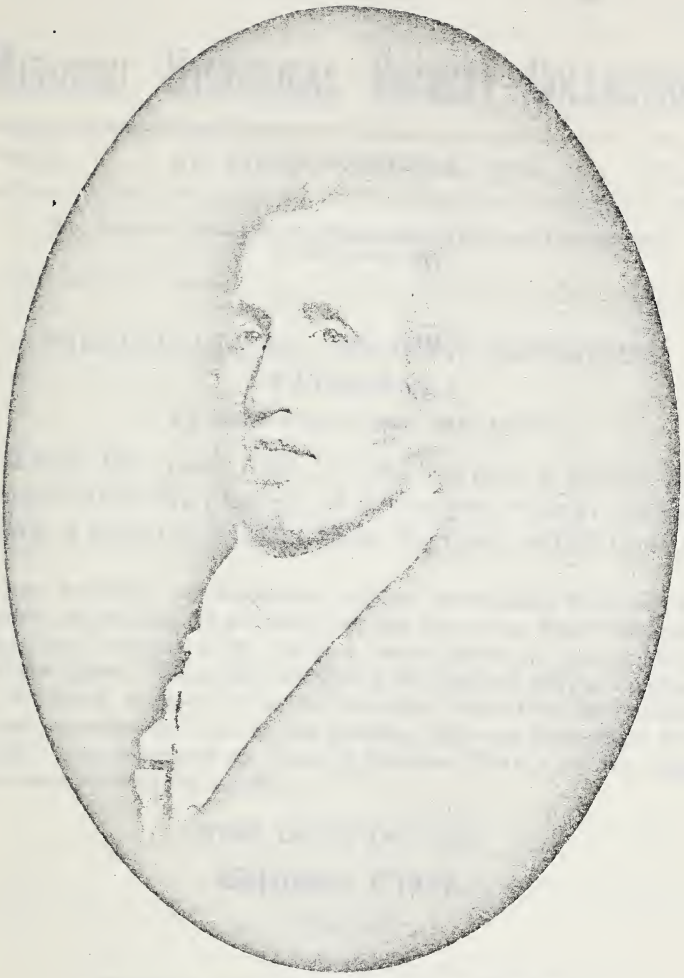

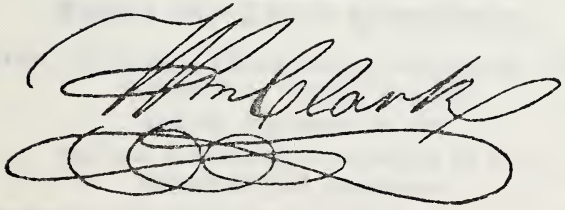

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

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WILLIAM CLARK: SOLDIER, EXPLORER, STATESMAN.[1]

BY REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL.D.

About the year 1630, a trifle less than a quarter of a century after the planting of Jamestown colony, one John Clark, a recent immigrant from England, settled upon the

[1] On Saturday, 22 September, 1906, on the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of the return of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, there was unveiled in St. Louis a bronze tablet to the memory of William Clark. The tablet, the gift of the National Bank of Commerce in St. Louis, is placed upon the Broadway front of the bank building, which occupies the site of the dwelling house of Meriwether Lewis Clark. This house was the home of Governor Clark in his later years. The inscription on the tablet is: —

HERE LIVED AND DIED

William Clark,

1770–1838

OF THE

Lewis and Clark Expedition,

SOLDIER, EXPLORER, TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR, SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,

ERECTED SEPTEMBER 23, 1906.

THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RETURN OF THE EXPEDITION.

The designing and erection of the tablet was done under the direction of the Civic League of St. Louis, which inspired the gift. The safe keeping of the tablet is committed to the Missouri Historical Society.

James River in Virginia. We have little knowledge of his antecedents in the Old World, but he himself appears soon to have become a successful tobacco planter; his descendants were colonials of considerable social and political prominence, and affiliated by marriage with some of the best blood of Virginia.

Americans of the seventeenth century, especially those south of New England, were not wide travellers. Roads were crude, bridges few, settlements and even farmsteads wide apart — practically none stirred far from home, save officials, land speculators, fur-traders, raisers of half-wild forest cattle, and a few well-to-do young fellows in whose veins strongly coursed the *wanderlust* of our Teutonic race, and who must have their outing before settling down into the humdrum of business, professional, or plantation life. A few years after his settlement John Clark appears to have made what was then a notable journey into the neighboring colony of Maryland, where he wooed and married "a red-haired Scotch lady" who had relatives in the Virginia county of King and Queen, wherein was Clark's evidently small plantation.[1] In later marriages, during successive generations of Clarks, Scotch and Scotch-Irish blood was freely mingled with the pure English strain that John Clark had brought to the James — a fusion

The unveiling was under the joint auspices of the Civic League and the Historical Society. The programme was as follows: —

"The unveiling of the tablet by Miss Marie Christy Church, great-great-granddaughter of General Clark, at 2:30 p. m., September 22d, corner of Olive street and Broadway.

Commemorative Exercises in Memorial Hall at 8 p. m.,
HENRY T. KENT, President of the Civic League, presiding.

Presentation of Tablet . . . J. C. VAN BLARCOM,
President National Bank of Commerce.

Acceptance of Tablet . . . Judge WALTER B. DOUGLAS,
on behalf of Missouri Historical Society.

Address: WILLIAM CLARK, Soldier, Explorer, Statesman.
DR. REUBEN G. THWAITES."

The address of Dr. Thwaites is herewith given. EDITOR'S NOTE.

[1] Correspondence of Col. John O'Fallon, of St. Louis, quoted in Draper MS. 1J37, in Wisconsin Historical Library.

such as has given to the history of American pioneering heroes and heroines for many of its most glowing chapters.

This John Clark, great-grandfather of George Rogers and William, left one son, who in due course married, but early departed this life, leaving a widow and two sons, John 2d and Jonathan. In 1725 the latter married Elizabeth Wilson, the daughter of an English Quaker settler of King and Queen County. Nine years later he in turn died, survived by a well-provided family of two sons and two daughters, of whom the oldest child was John 3d (born October 9, 1726), father of the man whose services to civilization we have to-day formally recognized.[1]

John 3d married (1749) his second cousin, Ann Rogers — "an amiable young lady of about sixteen," an old chronicler tells us — who on her mother's side was related to the celebrated Byrd family of Westover. John and Ann began their career in a rude cabin topping a height of ground on the western frontier of Albemarle County, quite near the plantation of Mrs. Clark's elder brother, John Rogers, who had explored that region as early as 1712; and within a mile of Monticello, in later years to become the home of Thomas Jefferson. Here were born the first four of their ten children — Jonathan (1750), George Rogers (1752), Ann (1755), and John 4th (1757).

In 1757 occurred the death of Mr. Clark's uncle, John 2d, who had remained a bachelor and bequeathed to his namesake and favorite nephew his large farm in the southwestern corner of Caroline County. Thither the family of John 3d at once removed, and their six other children were natives of the new seat — Richard (1760), Edmund (1762), Lucy (1765), Elizabeth (1768), William (August 1, 1770), and Frances (1773).

John and Ann Rogers Clark appeared to have been a thrifty couple. According to the simple eighteenth century standards of the Virginia frontier they were well-to-do,

[1] The widow of Jonathan Clark subsequently married one Richards, whom she survived. About 1783, when at an advanced age, she died at the residence of her son, John 3d, in Caroline County.

although doubtless many a Western farmer of our day would consider himself to have won but a fair competence had he only the fortune of our hero's parents. After the manner of borderers, the children obtained but the most elementary education; reared to hard work at home, they also had a full knowledge of woodcraft, for their fields were still girt about by jungles, and not far distant were dense forests darkly mantling the eastern slopes of the Alleghenies; cattle, horses, and hogs were pastured on the rich mast of the foothills, and after the annual round-up driven in herds to distant seaboard markets; guarding the mountain passes and the west-flowing waters beyond, were fierce tribes of Indians, visited only by wandering fur-traders, hunters, and occasionally a venturesome missionary or an exploring surveyor, or now and then by a punitive expedition of the free-and-easy border militia.

When William was two years of age (1772), his elder brother George Rogers Clark, then a young surveyor and well-equipped borderman, made his first exploration down the Ohio River. Thus William grew up familiar with the ways of the woods, with long hunting trips, with Indian fighters, of whom there were several in his own family, and with thoughts of venturesome deeds far beyond the fretted sky-line of the Alleghenies that gave bound to Virginia on the west.

In the month of October, 1784, five years after George Rogers Clark, the most famous of all the sons of John Clark 3[4], had valorously won for American arms the country beyond the Ohio, and the year following the confirmation of that conquest by the treaty of Paris, his parents and most of his brothers and sisters, born frontier folk, took up their line of march from Virginia for the newer land of Kentucky. Their route lay along the over-mountain path from the Potomac to the Monongahela, that had been moistened by the blood of Washington's men at Fort Necessity and by Braddock's at the Turtle Creek crossing. Winter chanced to set in early, so that on their arrival the Monongahela was found to be choked with ice. With

other Western emigrants the Clarks tarried at Pittsburgh until the February thaw, when re-embarking they descended to Louisville (then known as the Falls of the Ohio), reaching that far-off Western outpost early in March. The new seat of the Clarks was attractively located at Mulberry Hill, on Beargrass Creek — three miles south of George Rogers Clark's rude fort at Louisville, with its cordon of log huts for the settlers — and here John Clark died fourteen years later (July 29, 1799); his aged wife, Ann, having passed away several months previous (December, 1798.)

Thus in his fifteenth year William Clark became a Kentuckian. The life at Mulberry Hill was quite similar to that on the Virginia uplands, save that frontier conditions were more evident. The Clark home was a centre of hospitality and sociability for the entire region. Under the roof-tree at Mulberry Hill were frequently entertained sturdy pioneers of the Kentucky movement, bringing their tales of Indian warfare and other perils and hardships of the early days; and the second generation of Kentucky immigrants also found here a welcome — gentlemen and lawyers of the new settlements, Revolutionary soldiers seeking homes in the growing West, men of enterprise, culture, and promise, permanent founders of a new civilization.

Among them all, a marked favorite was young "Billy," whose large and powerful frame was capped by a full, broad face, profoundly serious in composure, yet lit by kindly, sympathetic eyes that were windows to a persistent, dauntless soul. His thick shock of red hair eloquently bespoke his great-grandfather's Maryland wooing. But his own words were few; his reputation being that of a youth who accomplished things, rather than talked of them. Frequently he was a member of war parties against the still troublesome aborigines. He had but entered on his seventeenth year when we find him enlisted in the Wabash expedition under his elder brother, now General George Rogers Clark. Three years later (1789), he joined Colonel

John Hardin's unfortunate enterprise against the tribesmen north of the Ohio, that met with at least one success, the spirited defeat of the enemy on White River.

In 1790 young Clark served the federal government by undertaking a dangerous mission to the Southern Indians, when the Creeks and Cherokees were giving trouble. The season following (spring and summer of 1791), on reaching his majority, he was commissioned as ensign and acting lieutenant, and served in the successive Wabash Indian campaigns of Generals Scott and Wilkinson. "Your brother William," writes one of the family friends,[1] "is gone out as a cadet with Gen. Scott, on the expedition. He is a youth of solid and promising parts, and as brave as Cæsar."

Two years later (March 19, 1793), we find him commissioned as a first lieutenant of riflemen in the Fourth sublegion, in General Anthony Wayne's Western Army. After being engaged as an engineer in constructing forts along the line of advance, he was, late in the season, dispatched upon a perilous and tedious expedition up the Wabash as far as Vincennes, during which his soldiers were for some time obliged to depend on their rifles for supplies, while for twenty days their progress was blocked by ice.

Returning to Fort Washington (Cincinnati) in the spring of 1794, Clark, — who, although holding but a lieutenant's commission, frequently commanded a company — was promptly ordered to escort to Fort Greenville seven hundred packhorses laden with supplies for the army. Attacked by the savages (May 13), he lost six men killed and two wounded, but gallantly repulsed the enemy and elicited praise from Wayne,[2] under whom he

[1] Dr. James O'Fallon to Colonel Jonathan Clark, May 30, 1791; in Draper, MSS., 2L28.

[2] In a letter to his brother, General Jonathan Clark, dated May 31, 1794, Lieutenant Clark complains that the commander-in-chief in his public order wrongly attributes to Lieutenant Turner, a passenger in the expedition, and under-ranking Clark, more laurels than to the latter, who considered himself as entitled to full credit.

later (August 20) won distinction by leading the left column of riflemen in the Battle of Fallen Timbers. During this campaign he also acted as adjutant and quartermaster to the legion.

In 1795 Wayne sent Clark with a message to the Spanish authorities at New Madrid, protesting against the erection of a fort at the Chickasaw Bluffs. It is said that they were much impressed by the dignity and soldierly bearing of the young lieutenant who was so soon to be planning for the exploration of their vast trans-Mississippi possessions. The following summer, in his twenty-sixth year, he resigned his commission and retired from the army (July 1, 1796), because of ill health — apparently with the brevet rank of captain, for thereafter he was given that title.

Clark's four years' service in the Western Army had been of a character to bring fresh honors to the Clark name, had he done no more. He had become familiar with the methods of handling and retaining the respect of large bodies of frontiersmen under military discipline; his store of courage and resource had been tested to the full in dealing with savage foes; he had acquired experience on diplomatic missions; he had been in touch with the prominent men of his time. But most significant and far-reaching of all, he was for several months previous to his resignation thrown into intimate companionship with Meriwether Lewis, four years his junior, whom he had doubtless known as a boy in Virginia, and who — in the capacity of an ensign assigned to his company — was now his fellow campaigner.[1]

Captain William Clark became, in his retirement, a young country gentleman, and at first, after recovering his health, placidly occupied himself with the business of his now aged father's estate. When the latter died, Mulberry Hill fell to William's share. But with these rustic duties were soon mingled the management of the tangled affairs of his famous

[1] See Clark's letter to Nicholas Biddle, dated St. Louis August 15, 1811, in Coues, *Lewis and Clark Expedition* (N. Y., 1893), i, pp. lxxi, lxxii.

brother, George Rogers Clark, which henceforth occupied much of his attention. Vexatious suits were brought against the hero of Vincennes, for supplies furnished to his troops during the Revolutionary War; and to meet these William Clark, self-sacrificingly loyal to his brother's interests, parted with a large share of his own possessions, even the ancestral seat of Mulberry Hill. As some measure of compensation, General Clark conveyed to William 65,000 acres of land below the mouth of Tennessee River; in later years, when this tract became valuable, the latter shared it with other members of the family.

William Clark's affairs were in this condition when, in his thirty-third year, a momentous letter reached him (July 16, 1803), from his old comrade and subordinate in Wayne's army, now Captain Meriwether Lewis of the First Infantry, and lately private secretary to President Jefferson. This communication, dated Washington, June 19, gave confidential information of Lewis's projected exploring expedition through Spanish territory to the Pacific Ocean, under Jefferson's auspices, and Clark was invited to "participate with me in its fatiegues, its dangers and its honors." The young Kentucky Cincinnatus was cordially assured by his still younger friend-at-arms that "there is no man on earth with whom I should feel equal pleasure in sharing them as with yourself."[1]

It will be seen that owing to the slowness of Western mails, Lewis's letter was all but a month in reaching Kentucky. Failing to hear from his friend as soon as he had expected, and fearing that this might mean that he was unable to go, Lewis had meanwhile opened tentative negotiations with Lieutenant Moses Hooke of his own regiment, then in charge of military stores at Pittsburgh. When Lewis's letter arrived, Captain Clark was at his brother George Rogers's estate at Clarksville, Indiana, on the north side of the Ohio river, opposite Louisville, and the following day (July 17) he accepted the offer with

[1] See correspondence in full in Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York, 1904–5), Vol. VII.

Most cordially yours,
Reuben G. Thwaites

enthusiasm. "This is," he wrote, "an imense undertaking fraited with numerous dificulties, but my friend I can assure you that no man lives with whom I would prefer to undertake and share the Dificulties of such a trip than yourself."

The circumstances under which this proposed exploration towards the Pacific was undertaken are, in this centennial annniversary period, doubtless familiar to all of us. But for the sake of continuous narrative it is necessary, even at the expense of bringing historical coals to this Newcastle, briefly to recount them. Jolliet and Marquette (1673) had first hoped that the Mississippi might be found emptying into the Pacific; but on ascertaining that its flood was received by the Gulf of Mexico, they looked upon the Missouri as the undoubted highway to the Ocean of the West. There was, indeed, a widely-prevalent tradition among aborigines living upon the Mississippi, that the Missouri sprung from a low-lying watershed that might easily be portaged to some stream emptying into the Pacific. Even at the opening of the eighteenth century, charts published in Europe showed west-flowing waters interlocking with the Missouri. Several French expeditions were organized for exploring the Missouri and some of its lower affluents — La Harpe and Du Tisné (1719), De Bourgmont (1722), and Mallet (1739); but they accomplished little more than obtaining a knowledge of the country for a few hundred miles above its mouth, with side ventures upon the South Fork of the Platte, the Arkansas, and the plains stretching southwestward to the Spanish seat of Santa Fé.

Upon the eve of the downfall of New France, the crafty Louis XV, in order to prevent England from obtaining them, ceded to Spain (November, 1762), the town and neighborhood of New Orleans and the broad possessions of France west of the Mississippi, the so-called Province of Louisiana. But the Spaniards who came to the two capitals, New Orleans and St. Louis, were in the main only soldiers and public officials. French *habitants* occupied

their little waterside villages, as of old; being joined in the closing decade of the century by Kentuckians like Daniel Boone, who, weary of the legal and social restraints of growing American settlements, were willing to accept Spanish land grants with their promise of a return to primitive conditions, in which farming alternated with hunting. French trappers, many of them blood relatives of the red men, and now released from the tyranny of the fur-trade monopoly of New France, freely plied their nomadic calling upon the lower reaches of the Missouri and its branches, and even up the Platte and Arkansas to the bases of the Rockies. French and half-breed fur-traders — either on their own account, or as agents of the warring British companies of the Canadian wilds, the Hudson's Bay and the North West — wandered far and near among the tribesmen, visiting them in their permanent villages and accompanying them upon hunting, fishing, and war parties. Their long journeyings by land and water occasionally carried them as far afield as the great northern bend of the Missouri, where were the villages of the trade-loving Mandans, who bartered indiscriminately with Gauls from St. Louis and Britons from the Assiniboin.

In California, Spanish missions to the Indians had by the opening of our Revolutionary War extended as far north as San Francisco and Monterey. Spanish mariners, seeking vainly for a transcontinental waterway that should furnish a short route between Spain and India, had by this time become familiar with the Northwest Coast up to the modern Sitka, and developed a considerable trade with the natives, chiefly at Nootka Sound, on the western shore of Vancouver's Island; while adventurous Spanish missionaries had contemporaneously penetrated eastward to the Great Basin. Russian trading vessels had ventured southward from Alaska to Nootka Sound. In 1778 Captain Cook touched the Northwest Coast on his third voyage around the world; and by 1785 traders of several nations — English, American, Russian, Spanish, and Portuguese —

were plying these waters in a world-wide commerce for furs, and rapidly extending a knowledge of our Western shores and of their savage inhabitants.

Such was the situation when Thomas Jefferson — philosopher, seer, statesman — always interested in the Middle West, first felt within him yearnings for a more intimate knowledge of the vast country lying beyond the Mississippi River. That the Province of Louisiana belonged to Spain, gave him no pause; he felt that so long as British traders from Canada were exploiting the trans-Mississippi interior, Americans might be excused for opening through this wilderness a trade route to the Pacific, and incidentally extending the bounds of human knowledge in geography and the natural sciences.

In 1783, he proposed such an expedition to George Rogers Clark,[1] but nothing came of the suggestion. Three years later, when American minister to Paris, he arranged with the adventureous John Ledyard, of Connecticut, who had been with Captain Cook around the globe, to penetrate to the Missouri from the west, and descend that stream to the American settlements; but Ledyard's enterprise came to grief through his arrest in Kamschatka by agents of the Russian crown, which looked askance at American operations on the Northwest Coast. Captain John Armstrong in 1790 attempted to ascend the Missouri, under orders from the War Department at Washington, but failed because of the hostility of the Missouri tribes. In 1793 — the year following Captain Robert Gray's discovery of the mouth of the Columbia — Jefferson, acting as a vice-president of the American Philosophical Society, dispatched upon this same mission André Michaux, a distinguished French botanist then herborizing in the United States. Michaux tarried in Kentucky to conduct a French political intrigue with George Rogers Clark and other disaffected borderers, who were planning a filibustering expedition

[1] The original MS. of this letter is among the Draper MSS. (press-mark, 52J93), in the Wisconsin Historical Library.

against the Spanish of Louisiana, with the result that his project of exploration was abandoned. [1]

When Jefferson became president of the United States, perhaps a score of American trading vessels were annually visiting Nootka Sound and the mouth of the Columbia; British overland traders were, as we have seen, operating among the Mandan Indians and their tribal neighbors, at or below the great bend of the Missouri; French and half-breed trappers and traders, together with a few expatriated Kentuckians, were familiar with the Missouri and its lower affluents; upon St. Peter's River (now the Minnesota), British free-traders were profitably bartering with the Sioux, a circumstance causing much uneasiness among Americans of the Middle West. As yet, few citizens of the United States were engaged in the exploitation of the trans-Mississippi, which Napoleon, dreaming of another New France in North America, had now (October 1, 1800) obliged Spain to retrocede to him, although he had not thus far taken formal possession of the country.

President Jefferson had not forgotten his early dreams of exploring the Far West. In the winter of 1802–03, the opportunity was presented of again pushing the scheme, this time with the greater influence attendant upon his exalted position. An "act for establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes" had lapsed, and he urged Congress in a secret message to reach out for the trade of the Missouri River Indians, suggesting an exploring party as the best means of accomplishing this object.

He recognized that the country which he thus proposed to enter had recently become the property of France, although still governed by Spain; but thought that the European powers would not object to an enterprise cloaked "as a literary pursuit." Congress acceded to his wish, and appropriated $2,500 to carry the project into effect. This amount seems amusingly small; but contemporary

[1] See documents connected with these several projects, in Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Appendix, Vol. VII.

documents[1] abundantly prove that Jefferson intended that the exploring party should, while still east of the Mississippi River, be subsisted by the War Department, as a military enterprise. In addition thereto he issued in their favor a general letter of credit, which while it proved of no avail, further demonstrates the fact that the enterprise was not expected to confine itself to the appropriation.

The story of the expedition of Lewis and Clark is so familiar a tale in our day, that we need not here dwell at length upon it. Lewis, who in 1803 was but twenty-nine years of age, had won an excellent reputation in the Western Army, and as Jefferson's private secretary shown himself a man of affairs, thoroughly imbued with common sense, and much of a diplomat. The President had at first wished that a scientist might lead the party; but just then no such person was available who at the same time understood the Indian, was an adept in camp life, could govern a company of frontiersmen, and possessed the physique necessary for an enterprise of this hardy character. Lewis sought, in some measure, to overcome his deficiency on the scientific side by taking brief but evidently strenuous lessons from eminent scientists of his day, especially regarding the use of the crude astronomical instruments then in vogue, and the making of geological, natural history, and ethnological notes.

Clark, in his thirty-third year, furnished not only a knowledge of aborigines and wild life generally, quite the equal of his friend's, but for his day was a competent engineer and facile draughtsman, qualifications as essential to the undertaking as the necessarily superficial scientific training of Lewis; he also proved much the better boatman of the two, and to him apparently was in large measure assigned the difficult task of training the men.

Preparations were quite complete — Lewis was ready to

[1] Given in full in Appendix (Vol. VII) to *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.*

start from Washington, Clark had already enlisted a number of young Kentucky riflemen, boats for the Ohio River trip and supplies had been ordered and were assembling at Pittsburgh, Jefferson had issued his final detailed instructions, and permits had been obtained from both French and Spanish officials who, however, had small notion of what the expedition meant — when a new phase was given to the enterprise. On the second of May, 1803, American commissioners had, quite without authority for so important a transaction, signed a treaty with Napoleon by which Louisiana was sold to the United States, France having three years previously secretly obtained the province from Spain. Some inkling of the Louisiana Purchase had certainly reached Washington by the middle of June, for Lewis privately mentioned it in his invitation to Clark; but official confirmation was not received until July 14, by which time Lewis had nearly reached Pittsburgh, prepared to descend the Ohio with his little flotilla. Thus the expedition was on its feet and would surely have marched, despite European ownership of the trans-Mississippi. News of the transfer of sovereignty wrought no other change, save that the secrecy heretofore maintained was no longer necessary.

At Louisville, Clark joined Lewis with his volunteers, and the company wintered near the mouth of River Dubois, on the American side, opposite the entrance of the Missouri. While Lewis appears to have spent much time in the then village of St. Louis, consulting with French fur-traders and others conversant with the country, Clark was for the most part engaged at camp, accumulating stores and suitable craft for the long journey, and in organizing and disciplining the party — a somewhat sturdy task, this latter, for the court-martial records of the expedition reveal the fact that the young Kentucky riflemen whom Clark had gathered, were slow in bending their democratic necks to the military yoke. In March, Lewis was the chief official witness of the transfer of Upper Louisiana — at first from Spain to France, and then from France to the United States.

May 14, 1804, Clark started from the camp on the Dubois, "in the presence," he tells us in his journal, "of many of the neighboring inhabitants, and proceeded on under a jentle brease up the Missouri," picking up Lewis six days later at St. Charles, whose citizens hospitably entertained the adventurers.

The long and painful journey up the great river during the summer and autumn of 1804 was followed by a winter spent in log huts enclosed by a stout palisade, among the Mandan Indians, not far from the present Bismarck, North Dakota. Making a fresh start from Fort Mandan, upon the seventh of April, 1805, there ensued a toilsome experience all the way to the headspring of Jefferson Fork of the Missouri, which was reached August 12. Then came the crossing of the rugged, snow-clad Bitterroot Mountains, which here constitute the divide; and the descent of the foaming rapids and cataracts of the Columbia, until the Pacific was reached in November. By Christmas the party were safely housed within Fort Clatsop, a rude structure — like Fort Mandan, log huts within a palisade covering a plot of ground some fifty feet square.

Another dreary but busy winter was spent in studying the natives and making other scientific observations in the neighborhood, and filling their large note-books with these interesting data. This was not the season, however, for meeting any of the numerous trading mariners who frequented the Northwest Coast; thus the letter of credit given by Jefferson to the explorers proved useless, for lack of any one to whom it might be presented. For several months they were in dire straits, being obliged to exercise great ingenuity in making trinkets and in the rude practice of medicine and surgery, with which to obtain supplies from the avaricious natives.

Leaving Fort Clatsop the twenty-third of March, 1806, the return of the expedition was delayed by heavy snows on the mountainous divide, and much hardship was experienced. The actual crossing of the range commenced June 15. By the first of July the party had arrived at

Travellers' Rest Creek, where the over-mountain Indian trails converged, and here they divided into two sections—Lewis's party going direct to the Falls of the Missouri, and afterwards exploring Maria's River with a view to ascertaining its availability as a fur-trade route to the north; Clark and his contingent proceeding to the head of Missouri navigation of the year before, and then crossing over to the Yellowstone and descending that stream to its junction with the Missouri.

Parting company on the third of July, it was the twelfth of August before the two branches of the expedition reunited on the Missouri, several days below the mouth of the Yellowstone. Their final happy arrival at St. Louis, on the twenty-third of September, 1806, after an absence of two years, four months, and nine days, is one of the most familiar, and equally one of the most romantic and significant events in American history. "We were met by all the village and received a harty welcom from all its inhabitants, &c," is Clark's terse record of what must have been an hilarious popular demonstration. Would he might have seen this beautiful city on the present memorial day, and experienced the warmth of the affection in which his memory is still held at the close of the hundred years during which the trans-Mississippi wilderness that he and his brave companions opened to the world has developed into a seat of imperial wealth and power.

I should like to linger upon the curious and romantic story of the journals kept by Lewis and Clark and several of their forty-three companions; but time presses, and as the tale has lately been told at length,[1] it is left but briefly to allude to it. Upon their return, both of the two leaders began at once, here in St. Louis, to write out their notes for publication. But both were soon summoned to high office—Lewis being made governor of Louisiana Territory, and Clark its superintendent of Indian

[1] Introduction to *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.*

affairs and brigadier-general of its militia.[1] The onerous duties appertaining to these new positions in the vast territory through which they had journeyed were necessarily absorbing; and neither being possessed of the literary habit, further progress towards publication was easily deferred.

Urged thereto by Jefferson, the originator and promoter of the expedition, Lewis began seriously to undertake the work; but he died (probably was murdered), the night of October 11, 1809, in a Tennessee wayside tavern at which he was stopping, en route to Philadelphia and Washington, where he intended at last to settle himself to the task. Clark, now the sole survivor, was promptly importuned from Monticello to assume charge of the undertaking, and finally engaged Nicholas Biddle, a young Philadelphia lawyer and financier of considerable literary experience, to edit the journals and prepare from them a popular narrative. This publication, after many strange adventures, finally appeared in 1814, eight years after the return of the expedition. It was, in many ways, an admirable piece of work, and has become an American historical and geographical classic. But it was not full enough, especially on the scientific side, to satisfy Jefferson, who sought to collect the original note-books for the use of some future historian of his great enterprise. Such as he gathered, were placed in the care of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia; but it appears that Clark, unknown to Jefferson, retained at St. Louis a good share of his own notes, and nearly all of the numerous and admirable annotated maps and plans he had made en route. In due course of time — sixty years or more after his death —

[1] Upon the expedition, Lewis held a captaincy in the First Infantry. Clark had been promised a captaincy, but when his commission arrived it proved to be but a second lieutenancy of artillery, which somewhat piqued him; but he concluded to proceed, when assured by Lewis that the latter did not recognize any difference in rank between them. On their return, Clark resigned from the army on February 27, 1807, and Lewis on March 2. President Jefferson signed Lewis's commission as governor on March 3, Clark's commission being signed nine days later.

these drifted to New York City, and only a few years ago were by the present speaker discovered there in the possession of his heirs. Recently, and for the first time, practically all of the Lewis and Clark journals and the Clark maps have been published, a hundred years after they were written and drawn in the field.[1]

From these journals written day by day, abounding though they are in scientific data — concerning the botany, zoölogy, meteorology, geology, astronomy, ethnology, and geography of the Missouri and Columbia valleys — we obtain for the first time a vivid picture of the great explorers and their life. Their pages are aglow with human interest. The quiet, even temper of the camp; the loving consideration that the two leaders felt, each for the other; the magnanimity of Lewis — officially the leader, and chancing to hold a captain's commission while Clark, evidently through some clerical misunderstanding, was gazetted merely as a lieutenant — in equally dividing every honor with his friend, and making no move save by Clark's consent; the poetic temperament of Lewis, who loved flowers and animals, and in his notes discoursed like a philosopher who enjoyed the exercise of writing; the rugged character of Clark, who, less emotional but undoubtedly feeling deeply, wrote in brief, pointed, business-like phrases, and, less scholastic of the two, spelled phonetically, capitalized chaotically, and occasionally slipped in his grammar — all these, and more, are evident on every page; causing the reader deeply to admire the men, and to follow them in their often thrilling adventures with the keenest sympathy and admiration.

A hundred years ago, St. Louis was on the utmost Western frontier, and for many years after the Louisiana Purchase was the principal entrepôt for the rapidly-developing region of the trans-Mississippi. The dreamy little village necessarily enjoyed intimate relations with the aborigines, a far-reaching fur-trade, and extensive transportation in-

[1] Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (7 vols. and atlas).

terests along the great interlacing river systems of the Far West — over boundless grassy plains rolling to the horizon like the billows of the sea, across desert wastes gay in shadow but parched in the midday sun, and through rugged mountain cañons reaching tortuously to the sun-kissed slopes of the Pacific. Socially, St. Louis was an interesting medley of French, Spanish, and Americans, each with their distinct ideals; and here met North and South. This seat of Western dominion, its buoyant aspirations tempered by an old-fashioned conservatism, appealed strongly to these soberly-trained Virginians who had become imbued with a passion for pioneering. Thus Lewis and Clark, in settling down in Old St. Louis, found its life congenial, and at once became typical citizens, whom this modern cosmopolitan community does well to venerate.

Soon after Lewis's death, Gen. Benjamin Howard succeeded him (April 17, 1810), as governor of Louisiana Territory — Brigadier-General Clark becoming inspector-general of the Territorial militia and still retaining the superintendency of the Indians of the Territory, as well as the agency of the federal Indian Department. Upon the twelfth of December, 1812, the name of the Territory, which now contained a population of over 20,000, exclusive of Indians, was changed to Missouri, and Howard retired, being made a brigadier-general in the federal army. After a few months of interregnum, Clark was appointed by President Madison as governor of the new Territory (July 1, 1813), administering the office with great ability until Missouri entered the Union as a State (August 10, 1821). A candidate for popular election as governor of the new commonwealth, he was defeated by his old friend Colonel Alexander McNair,[1] then register of the United States Land Office at St. Louis; both men were widely known and had many admirers, but McNair was apparently the better politician of the two, moreover he had married into a prominent French family of the place. In May following, President Monroe appointed Clark as federal superintendent of Indian affairs,

[1] The vote stood: McNair, 6,576; Clark, 2,556.

an office newly created by Congress, and this post he filled until his death in 1838; although for a short time (1824–25), he also held the position of surveyor-general of Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas.

Ten months after General Clark had founded a home in St. Louis, he married (January 5, 1808), Miss Julia Hancock, daughter of Colonel George Hancock of Fincastle, Virginia, a charming young woman then only in her seventeenth year, of whom Clark had for some time been an ardent admirer, and for whom upon the great expedition he named one of the principal affluents of the Missouri "Judith's River" (now the Big Horn). She died in 1820 (June 27), leaving him five children.[1] Seventeen months later (Nov. 28, 1821), he married her first cousin (three years her senior), Mrs. Harriet Kennerly Radford, who died in 1831 (Dec. 25), having borne him two children.[2]

Amidst his numerous and often exacting official duties, Clark appears to have found time and opportunity to enter freely into the commercial side of life in Old St. Louis. In the newspaper press of the time we find frequent references to his somewhat extended dealings in city real estate. The brick mansion that he built (1818–19) on the corner of Main and Vine streets, not far from the site of the building in which he died and which we have this day marked by a beautiful memorial tablet, was one of the most imposing of early St. Louis residences. Within his adjoining block of brick houses on Main street, he constructed a large hall which for many years was used as a council room for Indian treaty conventions and talks; while upon its walls and in cases were displayed a very considerable col-

[1] Meriwether Lewis, born St. Louis, January 10, 1809, died at Frankfort, Ky., Oct. 28, 1881; William Preston, born St. Louis, Oct. 5, 1811, died there May 16, 1840; Mary Margaret, born St. Louis, Jan. 1, 1814, died near Middleton, Ky., Oct. 15, 1821; George Rogers Hancock, born St. Louis, May 6, 1816, died at Minoma, St. Louis County, Oct. 2, 1858; John Julius, born St. Louis, July 6, 1818, died there Sept. 5, 1831.

[2] Jefferson Kearney, born St. Louis, February 29, 1824, died January 9, 1900, in New York City; Edmund, born St. Louis, Sept. 9, 1826, died there Aug. 12, 1827.

lection of Indian curiosities that was open to the public, being frequently alluded to in terms of admiration in the journals of travellers who visited this then frontier community. "Here were Indian dresses decorated with feathers; weapons, such as bows and arrows, battle clubs, and stone axes; birch-bark canoes, suspended from the ceiling; skins of animals; the bones of a mastodon; and other interesting specimen and relics."[1] This hall was also the scene of numerous banquets, patriotic celebrations, and other popular gatherings, thus largely entering into the daily life of St. Louis three-quarters of a century ago, and of itself well meriting to-day's memorial exercises.

The general was also prominent in the Indian fur-trade of the great region whose gates Lewis and himself had opened to commerce. In 1809, he in company with Manuel Lisa, Silvestre Labaddie, Pierre Chouteau Sr., Auguste Chouteau Jr., Reuben Lewis, and Benjamin Wilkinson, all of St. Louis, and other stockholders from neighboring States, organized the American Fur Company, capitalized at $27,000, to trade with the aborigines of the upper Missouri and the mountains beyond. Three years later, the capital stock was increased to $50,000, and the name changed to the Missouri Fur Company, an organization long dominating the trade of the Far West, and popularly accredited with considerable financial success.

It is an interesting revelation of one phase of his private character to find him, in documents of the period, assisting in the establishment of Christ Church in St. Louis, and thus becoming one of the founders of the Protestant Episcopal communion west of the Mississippi. In Christ Church Cathedral, an outgrowth of that early parish, there can to-day be seen a beautiful memorial window placed

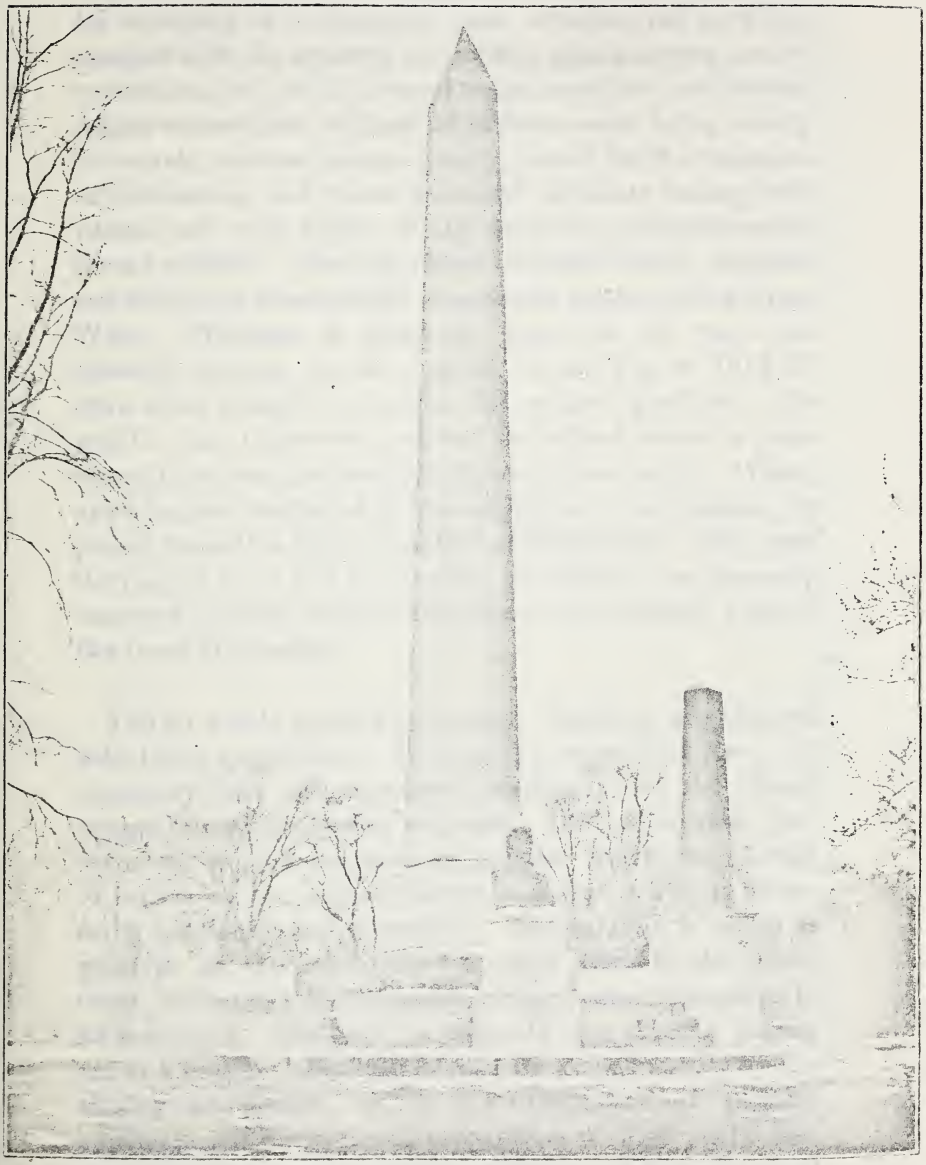
[1] From note to the writer by Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis, of New York City, great-grandaughter of General Clark, published in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, xi, p. 263, Miss Voorhis relates that after Clark's death, the keeper of the museum, without authority or knowledge of the family, took the collection to England, and disposed of the specimens to his own profit.

there by his daughter-in-law, Eleanor Glasgow Clark, in memory of his son and her husband, George Rogers Hancock Clark.[1]

General Clark was great as an explorer, and doubtless it is in that capacity that posterity will chiefly view him. But in truth his services to his country as superintendent of Indian affairs in Louisiana and Missouri territories, and his career as governor, were quite as important, although less heralded. During the three decades of his superintendency, when American explorers and traders were first occupying the trans-Mississippi region, it was of the utmost importance to these civilizing agencies that the aborigines be kept at peace with our army of occupation. Upon the transcontinental expedition of 1804–06, Clark was the dominant figure in all negotiations with the Indians. Unlike Lewis, who while eloquent in his tribal talks, did not always please his native hearers,[2] Clark's manner was mild, affable, conciliatory, sympathetic, in which attitude he was much assisted by a benevolent, kindly countenance, and large expressive eyes, which inevitably inspired confidence. His skillful diplomacy upon the tour, to which every page of the Original Journals bears unconscious but eloquent witness, was continued in his capacity as superintendent. The result was, that between the mouths of the Missouri and the Columbia, he was venerated by scores of tribes, among whom the word of "Red Head," as he was affectionately styled, became law.

[1] On the left side of the chancel, near the organ.

[2] In his journal, given in L. R. Masson, *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Quebec, 1889), i, p. 336, the explorer Charles Mackenzie, who met Lewis and Clark at Fort Mandan in the winter of 1804–05, says: "Mr. La Rocque and I * * * became intimate with the gentlemen of the American expedition, who on all occasions seemed happy to see us, and always treated us with civility and kindness. It is true, Captain Lewis could not make himself agreeable to us. He could speak fluently and learnedly on all subjects, but his inveterate disposition against the British stained, at least in our eyes, all his eloquence. Captain Clarke was equally well-informed, but his conversation was always pleasant, for he seemed to dislike giving offense unnecessarily."



Monument at the grave of William Clark in Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis, unveiled 2 October, 1904. The monument was erected under the personal supervision of Mrs. Jefferson Kearney Clark, whose husband made provision by will for this memorial to his father. (The smaller obelisk is not part of the Clark Monument.)

Clark's reputation for stern integrity, for absolute purity of private character, for sympathy with the unfortunate, for advocacy of the rights of men, whether red or white, mingled with his capacity for swiftly administering needed retribution, was of the utmost importance in a vast border region wherein the original inhabitants were being slowly but surely, and not always gently, ousted by the vanguard of civilization, and where the worst elements among both whites and reds might at any moment precipitate widespread conflict. Through these troubled waters, General and Governor Clark safely steered the course of the Great West. Whether in times of peace or of war — his splendid services on the frontier in the War of 1812–15 were alone enough to win him the nation's gratitude — he was for the thirty-one years of his official career in more senses than one the dominant figure in your midst. When, upon the site dedicated by this afternoon's ceremonies, he passed from this life on the first of September, 1838, aged sixty-eight years and one month, his demise was sincerely mourned by both races, throughout the northern half of the trans-Mississippi.

You do well to honor him to-day. Republics are charged with being ungrateful. This is but a superficial view. A monarchy has well-organized machinery for the official recognition of its worthy servants. In a democratic government, we perforce leave to popular action the placing of laurels on our heroes' brows, and such action is necessarily spasmodic and uncertain. The republic is surely as grateful as the monarchy for noble deeds in the public cause, although less frequently giving formal expression to its sentiment. We need to cultivate this practice among us, as a people. Not that heroes are actually made by the affixing of medals, or by the expectation of popular applause; but the generous recognition of high public service, past or present, awakens within us all that civic and national pride in our past, that historic self-consciousness as a people, that is the sure foundation of patriotism.

It is not given to many cities of the West, to harbor such precious historic traditions as those clustering around Old St. Louis. But amidst all your rich heritage of glowing memory, no single event was quite so pregnant with far-reaching consequences as the expedition of Lewis and Clark, first and in many respects greatest of all explorations undertaken by our federal government. You to-day celebrate its safe and successful return to its point of departure, and incidentally honor yourselves in especially recognizing St. Louis's debt of gratitude to one of her noblest citizens, William Clark — soldier, explorer, statesman, benefactor of his race.

Immigration to Missouri. — The "new comers," like a mountain torrent, poured into the country faster than it was possible to provide corn for bread stuff. Some families came in the spring of 1815; but in the winter, spring, summer and autumn of 1816, they came like an avalanche. It seemed as though Kentucky and Tennessee were breaking up and moving to the "Far West." Caravan after caravan passed over the prairies of Illinois, crossing the "great river" at St. Louis, all bound to the Boone's Lick. The stream of immigration had not lessened in 1817. Many families came from Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, and not a few from the Middle States, while a sprinkling found their way to the extreme west from Yankeedom and Yorkdom. * * Following in the wake of this exodus to the middle section of Missouri was a terrific excitement about getting land. * * My first visit [1818] was at this crisis; and I could not call at a cabin in the country without being accosted: "Got a New Madrid claim?" "Are you one of these land-speculators, stranger?"

Memoir of John Mason Peck, D.D.

CHARLES A. KRONE

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR.

BY CHARLES A. KRONE.

(Read at a Meeting of the Society, 20 October, 1905.)

Act One. Scene One.

Mr. President and Members of the Missouri Historical Society:

Permit me to thank you for the honor conferred on me by this invitation to read a paper relating to my personal experiences and observations as an actor, and the condition of the stage and its votaries of a time gone by. At the same time I am conscious of the difficulty and importance of the task I have undertaken. You will not forget that I appear before you to-day in a new and to me entirely strange character; one, wherein I shall have to utter my own thoughts and language, and not those of better minds, as I have been accustomed to do during a long life. I, therefore, solicit your indulgence if in the relation of scenes and reminiscenses in which I have been an actor or observer, I make use of the first personal pronoun rather freely.

I have now arrived at my sixty-ninth year and so have almost reached the Scriptural limit of human existence, and I have spent more than fifty years of that period in connection with the theatre; and if there is truth in what a great German poet has said, that during the first forty years of a man's life, he makes his history, and that the remainder is but a commentary on the same, I am encouraged to think that after a thirty years comment, my retrospective view of things and men, not a few of whom were considered great, may be of some interest.

I will, therefore, begin by touching briefly on whatever refers to the theatre during the earliest period of my life; and my memory, though deficient as regards dates, is very acute in whatever relates to actions or impressions.

I was born in Hanover, Germany, in 1836. My parents came to this country in 1839, and after a stormy voyage of six weeks in an old sailing bark, landed at Baltimore in the early spring of that year, from whence by railroad, canal and steamboat they went to Cincinnati. After a sojourn of about six months my father, to better his condition, started for St. Louis, where we arrived in the autumn of 1839. St. Louis was then considered the outpost of civilization, and strange as it may seem, although then but in my fourth year, I retain a very lively and distinct recollection of many scenes, such as some of the houses and gardens, and likewise French and mixed men and women of my surroundings, and I do not hesitate to say that if I were a painter I could reproduce many of the quaint houses and cabins of that period and their inhabitants, and most especially the French portion of the town. I also remember the bands of Indians that annually came to the town with the Chouteau and Vallé Fur and Trading Company, and whom I often saw at their trading house or in front of the Planters House clad in their savage finery and with bow and arrow shooting dimes or picayunes as they were then called, from the top of a slender stick. Also the slave auction at the east front of the court house, where, coming from school at one time, I saw them sell a young quadroon woman with two children, and when the woman refused to go south with the man that bought her, how they seized her and literally tore the waist of her colored calico wrapper from her body, while she with streaming hair shrieked: "God help me, I'll not go with him, I'll not go with him. I'll die first." It took several strong men to hold her. At length exhausted and more dead than alive, they succeeded in taking her away, whilst I horrified and loudly sobbing hurried home to ask my mother if such a thing was right, though I had been taught so at school. The town then contained sixteen thousand and some odd hundred inhabitants.

The first time I heard the word theatre, was in connection with one of St. Louis' early musicians, Philip Koch,

a clarinette player and neighbor, whom I heard practicing very often, and who was reverently designated as "the man who played at the theatre." I knew not what this meant, but the respectful manner with which he was always mentioned struck my childish fancy with a feeling of mysterious awe and greatness, and as I said before, were I a painter, I could paint this worthy, black-haired, ancient musician, who played at the theatre. I have been told by old musicians that he was very vain of his accomplishments as a clarinettist and would nimbly finger the keys of his clarinette and say: "Isn't it a pity, boys, to think that these dear little fingers will have to rot one day."

In my eighth year I lived on Olive street, one block east of Ludlow & Smith's theatre, the cornerstone of which was laid on May 24th, 1836, and was opened on the 1st of July, 1837, with the "Honeymoon," in which the following principals appeared: Mr. C. Barker, M. C. Field, Mr. Hubbard, Sol Smith, Thomas Placide, Kelly, T. Pearson, West, and Chambers; and the following ladies: Mesdames Biddle, Petrie, Mrs. Hubbard; Mrs. Vogt in a dance, Tambour Major, and a jig by Mr. and Mrs. Bennie. This was the first regularly built theatre in the town and was situated on the southeast corner of Olive and Third. The last performance took place in it in 1851, when it was torn down to make room for the United States Custom House. All the great actors of both hemispheres appeared on its boards. In the June of 1844, the historian tells us that the people were thrown into "rapturous excitement" by the arrival of Macready who opened in Macbeth and scored a great hit; and when he appeared in "Werner" it is said that the house was jammed, and but one-fourth of the immense crowd that waited for admission were fortunate enough to witness the performance. Then Forrest, who had been in St. Louis previously in 1842, opened his engagement with the "Gladiator" and scored a great success, and the question was raised which of these two men, so radically different, were the greatest actors. Then

Hackett with his great rendition of "Falstaff" and in 1846 the great tragedian Junius Brutus Booth, the father of the late Edwin Booth, appeared in his repertoir of classic roles. Be assured the great ones were all there from both sides of the water and the citizens were permitted to see the best actors in the highest productions of the English Drama.

As a rule the theater was closed in the winter, the company playing in New Orleans during the cold weather, returning to St. Louis in the early spring to fill their summer engagement.

I remember on a hot summer night, when a child, I used to sit on a stoop of a house opposite to this old theater and listen with wonderment to the music and tragic voices that issued through the open windows, and marveled what strange things were going on inside of this huge and gloomy looking pile of red brick, and I would sit there and dream until my anxious mother would come and drive me home.

It was during this period that I saw many members of the company. Their names were as familiar as household words, and I can still remember the features of some. 'Twas then I saw Dick Russell, Chippendale, Neafi, Chapman, Sol Smith, Field and Newton, and among the ladies Mrs. Farren, Howard and Mrs. Shea, who was killed by the curtain weight falling on her head during the performance of "Jack Shepard." She was, I believe, the first person that was killed on the stage in this city, though not the last. There was old Barclay, the billposter, who sported a high white, hairy, bell shaped stovepipe hat, with a wide black crepe band, his pants thrust into his boots, his bills on a stick slung to his side, a large paste bucket and brush in his hand, putting up posters about two feet long and a foot wide. The first time that Sol Smith, the manager, was about to play "Paul Pry" he was very much troubled as to the manner in which he should dress the part, and neither he nor his actors could hit upon the proper costume when, lo, Barclay appeared on the stage

during a rehearsal to get some orders from the manager, who immediately on seeing him cried out: "Eureka, I have found it," dressed the part exactly after the pattern of Barclay, and that costume has been retained ever since wherever the piece is played.

These people I saw very often as they stood at the stage entrance or in front of the "Shades" saloon, situated in the building on the southwest corner of the alley. Also "Becker's Park," a beer garden situated where the exposition now stands was a favorite resort of theirs, where they could be found on Sundays quietly enjoying their beer and cigars in the shadow of the tall trees. On the stage I never saw them until some years after, as I never witnessed a theatrical performance until my sixteenth year. With many of them I have played in later years, some of whom have reached the highest eminence, as in the case of the late lamented Joseph Jefferson, who then was playing small parts and singing comic songs between the pieces. Mr. Neafi, the tragedian, Mrs. Farren, the excellent actress and lady, the Placide Brothers, George Holland, Dick Russell, Chippendale and Aug. Waldauer, of honored memory, a man who as an artist was without reproach; a musician who pursued his art with unflinching rigor for the realization of the good, the true, and the beautiful, and whom I, when a young man, venerated as a high priest of his vocation. He was in the orchestra, though whether he was leader or not at the time spoken of I cannot tell. For some years past the flowers have bloomed on his grave, but his memory still survives among the actors to whom in their earlier days, like myself, he taught the music connected with the old English melodramas, and with untired patience laid the foundation of whatever was beautiful in the hearts of the pupils. When, after the war, the rage for flash music, now known as rag-time became prevalent, nothing could induce him to follow in that track. On one occasion I heard De Bar tell him that the populace demanded the music of the day, upon which Waldauer replied: "I know best what they ought to have and if that

dont suit, Ben, get someone else." De Bar responded: "Egad, I'll do nothing of the sort; you play what you please. I'm only telling you what they want." And the affair remained as before. Peace be to him. Then there were other pioneer musicians. There was Bellhaus and Robyn, justly celebrated, who died a short while ago; and Aman, Kost, Keller, Schnell, all of whom have passed away. So far I have only related personal impressions and recollections, with some few scanty facts gleaned from old musicians, men who were of the first to practice their art in this new community, at a time when a violin, a cornet and a clarinette constituted a military band, to whose martial strains a battalion of militia marched through our streets, and the delighted citizens congratulated each other on the event. When at a grand and social gathering, the dance music was furnished by an orchestra composed of four clarinettes, to which the worth and beauty of that day in taper-lit halls, glided through the mazes of the dance.

It was September 22, 1843, that General Bertram visited St. Louis, and I remember that the front of the theatre was gaily decorated with French and American flags and inscriptions. The General was invited to attend the gala performance of the evening, the program of which consisted of a drama entitled "Napoleon" and the humorous comedietta of "Mons. Tonson." The parts of "Napoleon" and "Tonson" were rendered by a young actor named Mason, who I lately heard is still living and managing a small traveling company. The performance, no doubt, was a gallant affair, since the large French population present were the representatives of the good taste of that period. Either after the performance of that night or the next, a public ovation in honor of the old French General and bosom friend of Napoleon took place in front of the Planters house. My father took me to witness it, and I was perched upon his shoulders to see the torch light procession as it halted in front of the hotel. Addresses were delivered and enthusiasm ran high. The old General ap-

peared upon the porch and made some remarks, when suddenly where we stood, oaths rend the air, brick-bats began to fly, and a general consternation took place. Some rowdies, of whom there was no lack in those days, had improvised a little fight. My father left with me, but I had seen General Bertram, the friend of Napoleon, his constant companion at St. Helena, who twenty years after the death of the great conqueror brought back his body to rest in his beloved France.

Although I had never witnessed a theatrical performance, I had seen several very fine Marionette or Puppet shows, representing historical subjects such as "The Seige of Constantine," "The Retreat from Moscow," "The Burning of the City," all of a French character. Permit me to remind you that the period of the grand exploit of the French people was then still fresh in the minds of all, and mostly in those of the Germans. Many of those whom I saw and heard had been active participants in the events of that great world historical period, and their conversation generally drifted toward that subject. It was then that the names of the great Frenchmen were familiar to my ear long before I had any idea of Frederick the Great, Schiller, or Goethe. Well, to return to the puppet shows, managed and manipulated by Frenchmen. I remember one which took place in the Old General Clark Tavern situated on Second street between what is now Lucas avenue, and the street north, which was then called Oak street. The subject was the burning of Moscow and the death of Napoleon. The last scene represented a sepulchre whose doors flew open and Napoleon, surrounded by a halo of glory, and supported by two angels issued from the tomb and ascended into a heaven on roseate clouds to the tune of the "Miserere" from "Il Trovatore" played by a hand organ. Of course, this gave me some idea of the theatre and when Bates' theatre was built in 1850 I was of an age to understand; and, working as an apprentice in a printing office where the theatre notices

and advertisements were paid for with a number of tickets, soon obtained an opportunity to witness a play.[1]

This theatre, situated on Pine between Third and Fourth Streets, was opened in the year 1851, on the 9th of January. It was managed by J. W. Bates, who also had a theatre in Cincinnati and one in Louisville. The company played here during the summer and the winter season in Louisville, at least this was the arrangement during the first few seasons of its opening. The company numbered among its members the following principals: C. Fleming, D. Clifford afterward D. Hanchett, Robert Grierson, John Lorton, Tom Booth, John Mortimer, David Sarzedas, Ben de Bar, Welsh, Raymond, Harry Chapman and Valentine, and the following ladies: Mrs. Coleman Pope, Mrs. Salisbury, Mrs. Welsh, Mrs. Chapman, Mrs. Mortimer, Mrs. Raymond and her two daughters who sang between the pieces, the tragedy and the farce, as was then the custom. There were others whom I have forgotten, for the companies of those days numbered at least twenty-five or thirty members. You wil

[1] John Gabriel Woerner, for many years the judge of our Probate Court, was at that period working as a foreman in the office where I was apprenticed, and it was through him that I was often favored with the privilege of setting up the theatre advertisements, for which I obtained a ticket for the performance. I have had the pleasure of meeting this gentleman later in life, and it was always with great pleasure that he spoke of the days when his youthful aspirations were towards literary fame. He had written several novels, and on Saturday nights when after midnight the forms of the *German Tribune* were locked up for the press he would say, " Charley help me to set up a few pages of my novel, and one of these days I'LL immortalize you " and with a loud laugh he would hand out the copy on which we would work for several hours. Manly, cheerful and kind-hearted, he was beloved by all who knew him. In later years, I arranged his drama of " The Slave " an idealistic picture of Southern life before the Civil War, and it was performed at the Olympic theatre during the 80's. He had desired that I should play the part of the villian in the piece, from which, however, I was prevented by being on the road with a company. He is too well known to require any eulogy here, but the impression his character made on me when but a boy, his interest for my career at a later period, and the readiness with which he referred me to literature that might prove beneficial to me in my vocation and even sending the same to me while traveling, will always remain with me a blessed influence and grateful remembrance.

be pleased to note that all the ladies above named were married, with the exception of the two Misses Raymond, besides there was also no dearth of children. Afterwards George Jamison, the leading man, and one of the best actors the American stage has produced, was added to the company. He was a pupil of Edwin Forrest, and had figured prominently in the scandal of the Forrest divorce case. Though an excellent tragedian he was an all-around actor and played French, Irish and negro characters with equal skill. He was killed by a railroad train while walking home from New York to Yonkers on a dark night.

The first play that I saw acted, was the tragedy of Evadne with Elize Logan in the title role and Fleming as the Ludovico. Miss Logan was an actress of superior merit, but her career was short, for after her marriage with Geo. Wood, the manager of the Peoples' Theatre, she never appeared upon the boards again.

Well, as I said, I witnessed my first performance of dramatic art from the gallery of the old "Bates Theatre," that theatre in which I subsequently spent so many toilsome and happy years. A strange feeling came over me, a feeling as if I had been seeking and longing for something, I knew not what, and which I had suddenly found—a revelation. And so it was, for before the play had ended I was determined that this and no other should become the vocation of my life. And now I was busy night and day concocting plans for the realization of my project, which was no light task, for in those days it was not quite as easy to enter the business as it is now. I had no rest or peace until I had procured several sets of parlor scenes and placed them in my mother's cellar, which I whitewashed, boarded and furnished with seats. Curtain and footlights were added to the stage, and a violin, flute and two guitars composed the orchestra, with a son of the old theatre musician Schmoll as the leader. And thus I began as manager of a much better furnished theatre than many of the so-called opera houses I have played in on the road since with first class attractions. The female parts

were represented by boys, and our repertoir consisted of scenes and acts from the English dramas and German singing farces by Kotzebue. All my spare moments I spent improving my theatre, and it was filled every Sunday night with admiring neighbors. However, my ambition was to play before strangers, and so I shipped my stage from one barn or carpenter shop to another, until I wound up in a large shed near a convent, where our continual shooting and tragic vociferations were declared a nuisance, and we were compelled to vacate the premises. I removed my scenery and determined to look for an opening at one of the theatres. Before long, up went a poster with the bill of the play, and underneath that, a demand in large letters for one hundred supers, who were required for the fairy spectacle of "Cherry and Fair Star," which they were getting ready to produce with considerable Oriental splendor. There was an opportunity. I lost no time to dress myself in the regulation gala suit of those days, which some of my contemporaries present will undoubtedly remember, and which I will describe for the benefit of the present generation, and I will proceed from the bottom. It consisted of low quarter shoes with black silk bows, white stockings, white duck trousers with spring bottoms and straps, white vest, a blue swallow tail coat with gilt brass buttons, broad shirt collar turned over the same and cuffs over the sleeves, huge black cravat, light gray, broad-brimmed hat, my long hair duly barbered and clubbed, a silver watch and two bits in my pocket, I sallied to the stage door of Bates Theatre, my heart throbbing in hope and fear. On my arrival I found some of the ladies of the company seated at the door all busy with their costumes for the coming spectacle, and who, when I stated my errand looked at me with some surprise. Some men who were standing around laughed at me, and invited me in to see the theatre and be introduced to the "grip sack," a slang term used to designate any kind of a practical joke. They were quizzing me, although I was not aware of it, and I was about to accept their invitation and have a trick played

upon me as a greenhorn. However, the ladies took my part and prevented me from following them. They referred me to a Mr. Valentine, actor and captain of the supers, whom one of the ladies called to my presence. This man had been engaged by Bates to do the broadsword fights which occurred so often in the old English melodramas; his speech was thick and stuttering, so that he could never manage more than a line or two, but a better hand with a cutlass I have never seen. Well, he gave me one look and said: "Sure, you come to rehearsal on Saturday and so I was engaged. I'll not forget the opening night of that piece. We dressed in the paint gallery above the stage, being higher up than the flies, where there was huddled together a crowd of one hundred youngsters of every breed and character. Well, after a manner I was engaged, and before long I was entrusted with little extra jobs, such as seizing or carrying off someone, and a friendship sprung up between Valentine and myself that lasted for life. Before the season was over I was singing in the choruses of such plays as "Last Days of Pompeii" "Massaniello" and other show pieces, which were produced in fine style with a company of good actors, and which had a run of several weeks each. However, the profit of these productions was small, since the scenic displays were of less interest to the audiences of those days than sterling plays and actors. Men and women were of more importance then than dress or decoration, which latter was never overloaded, as is so often the case at present, and which by the actors of that period would have been abominated as "circussy." It was the same in regard to dress, which was comparatively simple and they rather sought to make picturesque and beautify the historical costume than strictly to follow it. The rage for the historical in plays which strictly taken are anything but historical first began during the sixties. Up to that time the stage dresses were strictly defined for different periods of the English classic drama, as follows: Roman, Semi-Roman or mediaeval; Spanish of the Sixteenth Century and the

Rococo of Louis the 14th and 15th. Which by actors were known under the general terms of "shirts" "shapes" and "square cuts." Of course, the modifications were also considered and gypsies and Indians, orientals and barbarians lay outside the pale of the legitimate English play. The stage, as the great critic Schlegel has observed; "Is not a slop shop for historical antiquities." It is an institution to represent characters, and in beautiful forms the innermost passions and longings for good or evil in the heart of man. That this at least was honestly attempted, "the bill of the play" of those days will prove, and though naturally some trash will be found there it is of quite an innocent nature compared with the adultery, blood and revolver dramas of to-day. This "trash" was almost exclusively used for the delight of the boys at the wind-up of a performance after a sterling play. That also was the chief use made of the comic songs and dances which occured between the first piece and the one that followed, and as the curtain rose as early as seven o'clock or a quarter after, it gave those that did not relish these shows an opportunity of leaving the theatre and being home again byten o'clock. It was during the civil war that the present late commencement of performances began.

But to return to my own individual affairs. The occupation of a mere super and chorus man, did not satify my ambition. So when the season closed at Bates theatre, I joined an amateur association which performed in a hall of the old Market House on the east side of Third street near the termination of Franklin avenue, where we attempted the minor English dramas, such as "Luke the Laborer," "The Rent Day," Home's tragedy of "Douglas," etc., in all of which I played the principal parts. An actor by the name of Richard Linden directed the plays for us. He was a good actor but passionately addicted to drink, a vice prevalent among many actors of that day. One day he was seen going down into a dark cellar on Fourth street and closing the door after him. Some of his acquaintances followed him, and on their arrival they heard him shout

within: "My God, there he is again." When asked what was the matter he exclaimed: "A huge elephant has been following me since yesterday. I thought that I would fool him by coming into this narrow hole, but there he is now!" Medical attendance was obtained for him and he recovered sufficiently within a few days to attend to the direction of our play. But during the performance, to the great amusement of the audience, he came repeatedly on the stage with the book of the play in his hand to show the performers some word they had missed or pronounced wrongly, besides making a learned comment on the same. This, of course, would not do, and he was discharged. Not long afterwards he died of delirium tremens.

My next venture was at Corinthian hall, sign of the "Big Hat," situated a few doors north of the old Market House, where an old retired steamboatman, a Captain Lawrence, formerly a manager of a "bear show" on the levee, had fitted up a stage and museum which contained various wild animals, several freaks, a Scotch giant, with occasional Indian war dances on the programme. A giant Indian stood at the door during the day and turned a hand organ whose every other note was either a whistle, a squeak or a rattle, if not a dead pause, doling out opera airs. The Captain would hobble on crutches (for he had but one leg) and thunder out commands to those around him as though he was on board his tow boat, or seated in his ticket office with his broad, red face, smiling through the little wicket hole, as he threw the dimes into his cash box. The dramatic company consisted of a heterogeneous lot of men and women, some few only belonging to the town, the majority being from Memphis, and whose chief characteristics were those of harmless donothings, and as our auditors were chiefly deckhands, farmers, and Peter Funk auctioneers, no great talents to please were required.

This adventure lasted a summer season of ten weeks, during which time I had not received a single cent of pay. The captain had always put me off from week to week on the plea of bad business, and as I was only eighteen years

of age, with soul and mind bent on acting, I was not insistent. Moreover, since we played but one piece a week which we rehearsed on Sundays, I was enabled to work in the office at my trade. On the last day of the season, however, I was called into the office for a settlement. The Captain met me very kindly and said as I had done my duty towards him during my engagement, he was going to do the right thing by me. I was elated. He then showed me a small paper which represented the receipts of the season. And here, said he, producing a long streamer, are the expenses, on which he checked off those that were charged to my account, going so far as to charge me with window panes broken by Indians when drunk, a broken mirror, chairs demolished in the auditorium, a smashed guitar and many other things, so that my share amounted to just $1.45. "And now," softly added the old Captain, as he handed me the money, "As you have worked at your trade most of the time, and certainly possess some money, I'd advise you to kindly distribute this sum among the ladies." The affair was so comical and the sum so small, that I consented and divided the amount into four parts and paid each thirty-five cents for ten weeks work, and as none of them had depended on the institution for a living, and the affair had been sport to them, they took it and went on their way.

One day while walking down Pine street, between Second and Third, I saw one of these ladies in a very excited state rushing upstairs into what was the office of a weekly scandal journal, published I think under the title of the "Rolling Ball." Apprehending something extraordinary I stopped on the other side of the street awaiting developments, when suddenly there came a thump and a crash and the noise of falling furniture and then the reappearance of the lady, as flushed and excited she rushed down the stairs, forcing her way through the crowd which had collected and hurriedly disappeared up the street. I learned that she had been the subject of some slander in the "Rolling Ball." She had gone to the office to cowhide the editor

but finding no one on the premises, had satisfied her revenge by smashing everything she could lay her hands on. This episode served for a grand climax to my amateur experience, of which, moreover, I had become heartily tired.

Two more theatres had been built in St. Louis since the opening of the Bates, the Peoples and the "Varieties." The Peoples Theatre, managed by Geo. Wood, had opened its portals on December 9, 1852. It had formerly been Stokes' ampitheatre, in which circus performances were produced, and which was said to be capable of holding 2,500 people, at an admission of 15, 25 and 35 cents. It opened under the direction of G. T. Collins, with an opening address by H. Perry. The old English comedy of "Wild Oats," with the following leading actors opened the season: Brooks, leading; J. T. Huntley, old men; Perry, genteel comedy and tragedy; Allen, general work; Mrs. Reeves, singing roles; M'd'lle Oceana, dancer, and John Bernard, leader of orchestra, and Miss Julia Bennett, a famed actress of high life comedy. Under her management there appeared Wm. Don, an English nobleman, whose fame in my opinion was more owing to his eccentricities than to good acting.

The "Varieties" which was also opened in 1852, was situated on the south side of Market street, between Broadway and Sixth. True to its name it began with a variety of dramatic entertainments, and a host of artists whose efficiency in their several departments have never been surpassed here, if elsewhere. The performances included drama, farce, and musical farce, ballet and pantomine, in which appeared such actors as Bass, Geo. Holland, Ben de Bar, Chippendale, Sr., Mark Smith, Ben Duffield, J. M. Field and Espinola, the pantominist; M'lle Baron, dancer; Miss Lonsdale, Mrs. Howard, Mrs. Field and a *corps du ballet* and singers. For the particulars of this initial performance, gentlemen, I refer you to the framed programme which hangs in the hall of your library. It was said that this theatre was built according to the French

model of that day. The stage extended some twenty feet in a half circle outside of the curtain line for the better convenience of the ballet and pantomines. The popular belief was that this theatre had been ostensibly intended for fashionable audiences, and when it was broached abroad and believed that Manager Field had said "he did not care to have a man who wore a check shirt inside of it" true to the fierce democratic spirit of that time, the gallery first began to be empty and before long the lower part of the house was as solitary as the upper. Then the spectacular drama was resorted to, but in vain, for in spite of the elegant scenery and superb acting displayed in such plays as the "Bayadere" and "Napoleon Crossing the Alps," the people would not patronize them. With the best material the venture resulted in what might be called a brilliant failure. From that time for several years the theatre was let out at intervals to parties for short periods until George Deagle in the sixties once more raised the prestige of the house with his splendid fairy productions, and it became what it is now, one of the most popular theatres in the city.

During this period Bates had transferred his theatre to the management of Henry Farren, an English actor, under whose direction "Camille" was produced for the first time with Miss Heron in the title role, in which she scored an unchallenged triumph and a run of several weeks for the play to overflowing houses, besides gaining a popularity that enabled her to secure engagements in the best theatres in the country. A strange and contradictory personality this lady appeared to be. Lacking the advantages of beauty of both countenance and figure, her sympathetic voice, dark expressive eyes, and a flexibilily of features peculiarly adapted to express every mood of sorrow, could so transfigure her defects as to make you forget them. Eccentric and apparently masculine in her manner off the stage, severe and exacting in her demands upon the actors, in dress and mien rather resembling a housecleaner than an artist, upon the stage she was elegant, dignified, and the

loud harsh voice that commanded the rehearsals flowed softly and gently as music from her kindly woman's soul, whilst the real tears would flow in channels down her cheeks and fall like rain drops upon her breast. In the last scene of "Medea," she would weep in this manner without ever letting herself fall from her ideal height into vulgar naturalism or hysteria. She is the only specifically emotional actress I have seen that could represent the moral counteraction of spirit to the feeling that threatened to overwhelm it. It was this that gave her rendition the high tone so rare in emotional actresses and stamped them as tragic in the truest sense of the word. Perhaps this effect was owing to that strain of masculinity which she possessed. During the seventies she was married and it was said unhappily. She left the stage on account of illness and died demented. She was a kind and encouraging friend to me in my younger days and I can never forget her.

After this the theatre was secured by George Bateman for a term during which there was produced a series of plays relating to modern American life, among which "Extremes," and "Self" held the boards. The latter was written by Bateman, and in my opinion, was an excellent comedy, and I have often wondered that it has never been revived. It was played for several weeks during the summer and though the weather was extremely hot, the house was packed from pit to dome. I remember standing in the lobby next to Dr. McDowell, who in his accustomed loud and emphatic manner kept saying: "It's a fine play, an American play." After a short season this venture closed and Ben de Bar, the manager of the St. Charles theatre in New Orleans, bought the house for $65,000 and opened it for the summer season of 1856, under the title of the St. Louis theatre.

It was during this period that Chas. Couldock, Jas. Anderson and Gustavus Brooks arrived from England. Brooks was a master not only in tragedy but also a comedian of high excellence and opened his engagement

at de Bar's St. Louis Theatre, in "Othello," a part, in which it was said he stood unexcelled up to that date. I saw this performance; it was the first *great* acting that I had witnessed, and I did not miss the opportunity of seeing him essay "Richard," "Hamlet" and other Shakesperian roles with equal ability. However, the business having decreased after the first night, he concluded an engagement with the more popular Peoples Theatre where he played for five or six weeks to excellent business. During this engagement, "Macbeth" was produced with most elaborate scenery painted by Laidlaw, an English artist of great skill, a hundred singers to perform the music incidental to the tragedy, and a numerous host of supernumeraries for the court and battle scenes. It was truly a grand affair and had a run of several weeks, and though I have seen many showy productions since, I know of none that surpassed this in either the acting or faithful adherence to historical costume or scenery in the rendering of the poetical spirit of that great tragedy. Strange to say, though the attendance was good; it did not come up to what I subsequently saw accomplished by other good actors, and with the aid of plain scenery, a dozen or so of supers and the ordinary properties and perquisites which every theatre furnished; and I believe, considering the great expense, they would have done just as well, if not better, without these costly accessories. I remember that the various companies of soldiers clad in different armors and bearing strange weapons were laughed at as they marched across the scene to the martial drone of bag pipes and long trumpets. At all events it seems to me that the people of that day clung more to the substance than its frills and trimmings as they do at present, and I am inclined to believe this, since neither I nor any of my youthful companions were much enthused by this elaborate display. The rest of his engagement was taken up with "Richard III," "Hamlet," "Martin Luther" and with an occasional comedy as after-piece. I saw him play "Jacques," in "As You Like It,"

and at the conclusion of his speech of the seven ages, one of a party of Englishmen stood up on his chair and cried "Three cheers for Master Brooke. Hip, hip hooray." Three lusty cheers were given, and unless I am much mistaken they compelled him to repeat the speech. This performance closed with the comedy of "His Last Legs" in which he played Dr. O'Calahan, an Irish dialect part and convulsed the audience with laughter. This was the first and the last time he was seen in this city, for some time after he went down with the steamer "Virginia" on her way to Melbourne, Australia. He is said to have worked manfully at the pumps until all hope was lost, and refusing to enter a boat which to him seemed to be already overfilled with women and children, throwing a bottle overboard which contained a letter to his wife, the well-known American tragedienne, Avonia Jones, awaited his fate. The bottle was subsequently found and the letter delivered to his wife. His loss was universally deplored, and the actors spoke of him as a noble and kindhearted director and gentleman.

Continuation to follow.

Second Marriage of Governor Clark.

"This is to certify to all to whom it may concern, that on the twenty-eighth day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1821, William Clark and Harriet Radford, both of the Town and County of St. Louis, State of Missouri, were united in the bonds of matrimony according to the laws of this State, by the undersigned,

Salmon Giddings,
An Ordained Clergyman.

In presence of Jas. Kennerly.
St. Louis, Nov. 29, 1821."

Records of St. Louis: 1 Marriage Record, p. 41.

MEMORIAL SKETCH OF MR. MELVIN L. GRAY

BY HON. SHEPARD BARCLAY.

(Read at the Meeting of the Society, May 25, 1906.)

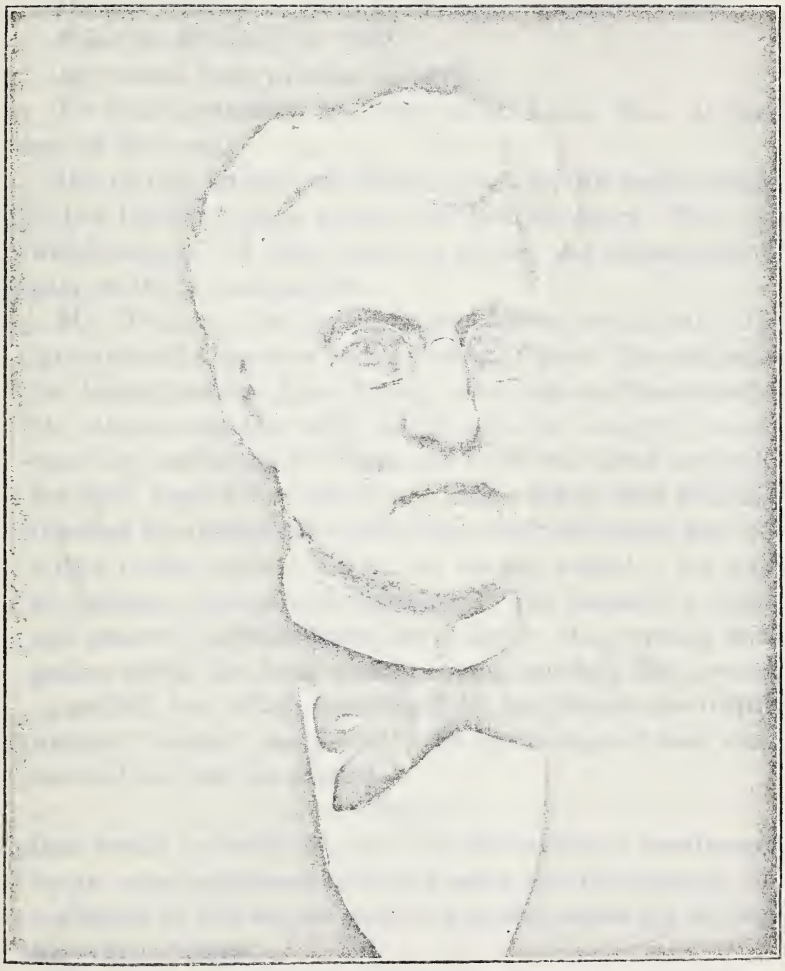
Mr. President and Fellow Members of the Missouri Historical Society:

The custom of giving place in the proceedings of your Society to addresses in memory of honored members who have entered into rest is a beautiful one, permitting us, as it were, to call back vividly, their personalities and to enjoy a picture of what was interesting and remarkable in their lives and characters. Perhaps the sketches thus drawn by friendly hands may furnish for the historian some materials which otherwise might be lost; they refresh, at all events, the fellowship of those who remain. The grateful fragrance of the memory of good men and of good deeds is a solace no less than an inspiration to those who remain on the stage of human action.

It was a pleasure, therefore, to accept your invitation to submit a memorial sketch of Mr. Melvin Lamond Gray, an active member of this Society since April 5, 1867. My acquaintance with him extended over a period of thirty years and was sufficiently close to give a fair insight of his character. He was a man of extreme modesty and reticence. He never aspired to public office, was never dubbed "Colonel," "General" or "Judge," and of him it might justly be said, as one of the greatest of English essayists wrote of JOHN HAMPDEN, that in his case the simple appellation of "Mr." has a more noble and imposing sound than all the feudal titles.

He was an able and accurate lawyer, a loyal friend, a devoted husband, an honorable man in every relation.

The events of his life have been fully told in the Encyclopedias of History of St. Louis (p. 95) and of Missouri (p. 930).



MELVIN LAMOND GRAY

It is not my intention to repeat them with much detail, but rather to draw a character sketch of the individual as he appeared to me.

He was born July 20, 1815, at Bridport, Vermont.

He came to St. Louis in September, 1842.

He was admitted to the bar in 1843.

He was married to Ruth C. Bacon, September, 1851.

His wife died July 6, 1893.

He retired from practice in 1893.

He died September 29, 1904, at St. Louis, Mo., at the age of 89 years.

His distant lineage was Scotch-Irish, but his family came to the United States before the Revolutionary War, in which several of them took an active and distinguished part on the American side.

Mr. Gray, as a lawyer, naturally drifted in his later life into extensive business in the Probate Court. His methodical habits, accuracy and fidelity in details and inexhaustible patience together with a high sense of integrity, commanding confidence of courts and of clients, fitted him well for that line of law practice. His work in that field intensified his natural characteristics, and developed him as a type of the probate lawyer of the old school. He was of taciturn nature and demeanor. Yet beneath a calm and reserved manner there lay a depth of sympathy and pathos which the busy world around his daily life scarce suspected but which betokened to his friends the "still waters" which "run deep." To the average of men who encountered him he seemed

"Dry;"

that would probably be the first characteristic mentioned by an acqaintaintance who had never had the privilege of a glimpse of the deeper shades of feeling which lay behind his "dry" ways.

My observation leads me to believe that the fragrance, pungency and relish of well preserved ginger are not diminished by its "dryness," and there is high judicial, legal and other authority for asserting that the "dryest"

champagnes are the best. Those acquainted with the life history of Mr. Gray, and who were privileged to have a view of his home, will attest that even if he was "dry" his heart was full of tenderness and of that gentleness which gives the word "gentleman" its old-fashioned import.

One of the ablest lawyers of our present generation (Mr. John M. Holmes), who had the good fortune to be a student in Mr. Gray's office, has kindly given me the following reminiscent view of his personality.

He was a rather quiet and unobtrusive man, never aggressive in manner, and not inclined to self assertion in any way, save when occasion imperatively called for it.

His integrity was of the most unbending quality. Although an extreme republican in politics, he numbered among his friends and clients, even in the stormy days of the Civil War, many men of widely different political views, who trusted him in the many ways in which men in those days were compelled to trust others, and in every instance events proved that such trust was thoroughly justified. He was one of the most industrious men I have ever known hardly allowing himself any rest or relaxation.

Although grave and somewhat austere in manner he had, at bottom, a kindly disposition, as was shown by the warm personal attachment of his many friends, conspicuous among whom was R. M. Field. Between Eugene Field, the talented son of the latter, and Mr. Gray there existed a friendship of a singularly close nature, beginning when Eugene was but a boy and ending only with his death.

Mr. Gray was rather deficient in a sense of humor. I can only recall one instance of an attempt at jocularity on his part. He had prepared a rough draft of a deed for some land in the county, in which one of the lines was described as running from a post oak. He gave the deed to a young man in the office to copy. The young man having been brought up in an Eastern city knew nothing of

post oaks, and when he handed the completed copy to Mr. Gray he remarked that in making it he had corrected an obvious error in the description, as oak post was of course meant, and not post oak. With a look of some amusement Mr. Gray told him that there was as much difference between an oak post and a post oak as between a fac simile and a sick family.

Regarding Mr. Gray's sense of humor, we shall add later something to the comments of Mr. Holmes.

Judge Vastine, for many years Probate Judge in this city, who filled that office most acceptably to the bar and to the public, became a near friend of Mr. Gray and one of the witnesses of his last will. He has kindly furnished some personal recollections of our subject in which he says that Mr. Gray repeatedly spoke of his early life and particularly of his stay in Alabama where he taught before coming to St. Louis. He told how kind and hospitable the Southern people were to him, a stranger from the North, and he dwelt on it as one of the happiest periods of his life. His memory of that time was perfect; he recalled the names of his scholars and of his employers, and all the details of his money dealings with them. Many of those remembrances were quite touching and pathetic; and they indicated his warmth of feeling, beneath his rather austere appearance and manner noticed by the ordinary observer.

Judge Vastine also tells how he suggested to Mr. Gray, when the latter was about 85 years old, that a little stimulant, a high-ball or a little wine, would do him good, would warm his blood. He made no reply, but a week or so ater he brought the matter up and said that he had concluded not to begin to drink any liquor as he might acquire the habit of drinking. He spoke gravely and very seriously, showing that he had given much consideration to the danger of forming bad habits, even at that advanced age.

Mr. Gray's unwavering devotion to his wife and to her memory is an ideal light which illumines his life and makes

it beautiful to remember and to revere. His love was as firm and thoughtful, as it was full of eternal hope.

In his last will are found several passages directing full execution of her wishes toward several of her relatives, followed by bequests of several hundred dollars each to four name-sakes of hers, and to many of her kindred.

Among these namesakes is Ruth Gray Field, daughter of Eugene Field, the noted author, who was a protegé and friend of Mr. Gray. The latter had been the executor of Hon. Roswell M. Field, one of the leaders of the St. Louis bar, who died in 1869. The friendship which grew up between the Field boys (Eugene and Roswell) and Mr. Gray the executor was strong and lifelong; on Eugene's part it was by turns pathetic and amusing. Eugene was always a boy—prodigal, brilliant, generous, improvident. He enjoyed disturbing the reserve of his father's executor with grotesque liberty of affection; his pranks of that sort were always condoned by Mr. Gray with serene patience. Eugene's brother Roswell, in the story of his life, gives this account of one such performance:—

"Before he went into journalism the more sedate of his family connections were in constant fear lest he should adopt the profession of the actor, and he held it over them as a good natured threat. On one occasion, failing to get a coveted appropriation from the executor of the estate, he said calmly to the worthy man: 'Very well, I must have money for my living expenses. If you cannot advance it to me out of the estate I shall be compelled to go on the stage. But as I cannot keep my own name I have decided to assume yours, and shall have lithographs struck off at once. They will read: —

TO-NIGHT, M. L. GRAY, BANJO AND SPECIALTY ARTIST.'

The appropriation was immediately forthcoming."[1]

Imagine the dignified probate practitioner depicted on posters as a "Specialty Artist!"

[1] *Western Verse*, Introduction by R. M. Field.

But Eugene went further in his joyous playfulness when he dedicated to Mr. Gray his book,

"ECHOES FROM THE SABINE FARM."

The deep humor of such a dedication will be understood best by those familiar with the classic sources from which the Field Brothers drew inspirations for the "*Echoes.*" The verses are artistic; we quote some of them: —

DEDICATION OF "ECHOES FROM THE SABINE FARM."

BY EUGENE FIELD.

(To M. L. Gray.)

Come, dear old friend, and with us twain
To calm Digentian groves repair;
The turtle coos his sweet refrain
And posies are a blooming there:
And there the romping Sabine girls
Bind myrtle in their lustrous curls.

* * * *

"But, good old friend, I charge thee well,
Watch thou my brother all the while,
Lest some fair Lydia cast her spell
Round him unschooled in female guile.
Those damsels have no charms for me;
Guard thou that brother, — I'll guard thee."

* * * *

"And, lo, sweet friend! behold this cup,
Round which the garlands intertwine;
With Massic it is foaming up,
And we would drink to thee and thine
And of the draught thou shalt partake,
Who lov'st us for our father's sake."

* * * *

E. F.

Brother M. L. Gray, as the hero of a drinking song, is a conception characteristic of Eugene Field! Yet the latter loved his old friend dearly.

One of the tributes which Mr. Gray paid to the memory of his wife was in the form of a simple memorial volume, "privately printed," for circulation among a few intimate friends. In that volume appears a most artistic sketch of

her life and character, by Eugene Field, full of grateful and graceful acknowledgements of her kindness to the writer. The closing lines of that sketch give a glimpse of the home life of Mr. and Mrs. Gray from a standpoint of a most intimate friend; they are worth repeating for many reasons: —

"She fell asleep one time last summer, a gradual failing a sinking away, — that was all. Those nearest and dearest to her stood round about her as the last night wore away. He who had been upheld and cheered and solaced and blessed by her love for nigh half a century, bent over her, took her dear hand and spoke to her. It was for the last time. They saw upon her glorified face no shadow of the Valley, but the shining light of the Eternal City. And through the windows streamed the summer sunshine; and it was Morning!"[1]

The picture thus drawn by Eugene Field of the closing hour of Mrs. Gray, gives likewise an idea of the inner life the husband and friend to whom the writer alluded so delicately. The Field boys were devotedly attached to Mr. and Mrs Gray; and the indulgence of Mr. Gray toward the wild and irrepressible humor of Eugene was evidence of those deeper traits of Mr. Gray's nature which the world at large did not see. He had been a hard worker, had trod the trying paths of poverty; he knew fully the value of a dollar; but, despite the hardships of his early experience, his nature remained sweet and sympathetic, and his heart generous and tender.

He was a law partner, during his first years in St. Louis, of Hon. Charles B. Lawrence, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois, but the firm was so little appreciated that Mr. Lawrence soon returned to Illinois to enter upon a career of success there, leaving our friend Gray to fight his battle singlehanded. He fought it well. He was developed in the midst of those giants of the days before the war, a cotemporary of

[1] Memoir of Mrs. Ruth C. Gray, by Eugene Field, Privately Printed, 1895.

Bates, Hitchcock, Gamble, Geyer, Glover, Shepley, Polk, Reber, Field and other great men of like mould. He did his part manfully — emerged from poverty and obscurity and took his place among the most honored and respected of our bar.

Nor was he as barren of wit and humor as is generally supposed. He has made remarks to me on several occasions, indicating a lively sense of humor — though his expression of such ideas was usually terse and epigramatic.

Once, after having taken five or six weeks to prepare an elaborate brief in a case before me, Mr. Gray appeared in court the following morning and again the day after, evidently awaiting a decision (as the clerk informed me). I requested his presence at the noon hour and told him that the clerk would notify him when a ruling would be made in his case, so he need not be present *every* morning, nor expect an instantaneous decision after his weeks in preparing his brief. He replied that he thought it possible that the present generation of "young judges," in their haste to dispatch business, might perhaps "not read *every word* of *every* brief submitted!" His expression, in saying this, was exceedingly droll, and made an impression which is yet very distinct.

On another occasion I met him on the Laclede avenue cars, on the way to the City Hall to be, as he said, "resurrected." He had tried to vote at a primary election but the judges told him that on the voters list he was entered as "*dead.*" He assured them that the entry was a mistake, as he was obviously alive. They replied that they did not know him, and that many people attempted to vote on dead men's names. Just then, some one came in who knew him and the judges. After having been introduced to the judges, he said that he supposed it was now all right. The judges then conferred together and announced they could not go behind the entry on the poll books and that he would have to go to the City Hall, see the election commissioners and get a certificate that he was entitled to vote. Mr. Gray then said: "I am on the way to do as they have

directed, and that is what I call going to the City Hall to be 'resurrected.'"

The way in which the old gentleman told this story showed that he fully appreciated the humor of the situation. Indeed, there can be no doubt that he had a strong sense of humor, which has often appeared to me inseparable from a nature as kind and generous as Mr. Gray's, when fully understood. In the recollections given of him by Judge Vastine, he remarks that on one occasion Mr. Gray told him very solemly that his wife's hair had turned gray in a single night. This astonishing information was made clear by the smile that played about his face as the witticism dawned upon his auditor.

I do not doubt that many of those who had the privilledge of close intimacy with Mr. Gray during his hours of pleasure and recreation will agree that, notwithstanding his remarkable gravity and seriousness of manner, he could appreciate a joke and now and then indulge in one with thorough relish.

Mr. Gray was a generous giver, and his liberality had in it tones of deepest sentiment. He contributed a handsome endowment to Drury College at Springfield, Mo., and in his will he gave substantial legacies to his church, to Monticello Seminary, to Forest Park University and to the Academy of Science of St. Louis; he also made careful provisions to establish permanent homes for the families of several of his domestic servants, as well as for gifts to a long list of his own and of his wife's relatives.

His will, the last expression of his thought, is most characteristic. It is an elaborate holograph document, many pages in length, without flourishes or bombast in any form, calm, dignified and particular, providing ample means to keep his burial lots in good order (suitably ornamented "with flowers, evergreens and flowering shrubs") and directing that his monument shall be inscribed with the date of his death and his age. How like him! Modest and plain to the last! Yet withal, his

career and character remain models for the admiration of his fellows! M. L. Gray was an honor to the bar of St. Louis, to the citizenship of our City, and to the membership of the Missouri Historical Society.

In closing, let me add that one of the features of his will is a legacy of $500 to this Society. To those of our members who appreciate his worth and honor his memory one of the best lessons to be drawn from the shining example of Mr. Gray is found in the words of GIDEON (*Judges*, 7, 17):

"Look on me and *do likewise.*"

From the Missouri Republican, 31 January, 1828.

CLEMENT B. PENROSE,

Has removed his office to No. 83 Church street, next door above the Green Tree Inn, where he will thankfully receive employment in his line of Justice of the Peace, Notary Public, Scrivener and Sworn Interpreter. He has also opened a Register for the Sale and Hire of Slaves; for procuring employment for Journeymen Mechanics and others, and for the Sale and Rent of Property. He will investigate Titles to Lands and Lots. Each registry he will enter for the moderate price of 12½ cents, and all his other charges will be equally moderate if he succeeds.

☞He will attend daily at Paul's Coffee House from 10 to 11 o'clock A. M. to receive orders.

NOTES ON THE GENEALOGY OF THE VALLÉ FAMILY.[1]

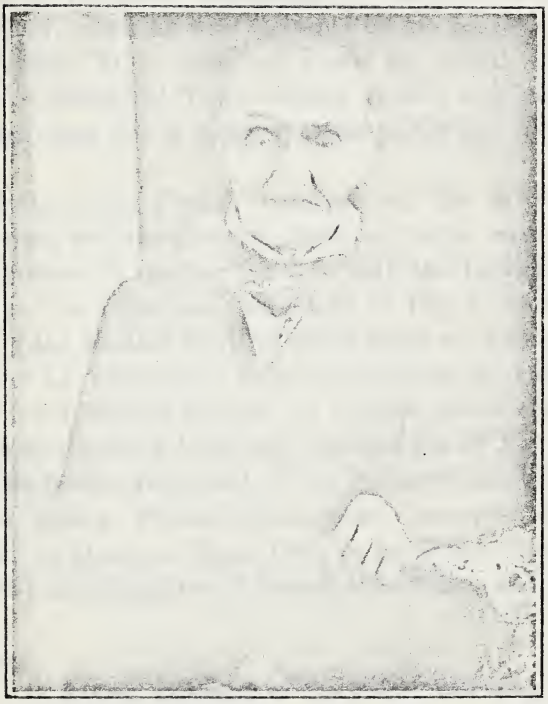
BY MARY LOUISE DALTON.

For more than one hundred and sixty years the Vallé family has been prominent in the history of this region. It is one of the oldest families in Missouri, and through all these years it has preserved its vigor. Members of this family have been prominent in the social and economic development of the State from the days of the settlement of the French in Sainte Genevieve, through Spanish times, and later, after Louisiana was purchased by the United States.

François[3] Vallé, the first of the name in the Mississippi Valley, became commandant of the Post of Ste. Genevieve in 1770, an office he held until his death in 1783. He succeeded Rocheblave who acted as commandant from 1766 to 1769. Rocheblave did for the government of Ste. Genevieve what St. Ange did for St. Louis through the same period; that is, he carried on the French system until the Spanish authorities took formal control. Before the treaty of 1763 whereby Spain acquired the territory lying

[1] In these notes no attempt is made to publish a complete record of the descendants of François Vallé and Marianne Billeron. Such a publication would be at the present time impracticable. It is thought, however, that the list here set forth may result in the collection of further genealogical material which might otherwise be lost.

The compiler is indebted to Dr. Arthur G. Doughty, archivist of Canada, and to Mr. Gaudet, genealogist, for information about the Vallé family in Canada. The notes on the descendants of François[4] Vallé were furnished by Captain François[6] Vallé. Dr. Jules F.[7] Vallé and his sister, Mrs. Marie Zoe[7] Vallé Lightfoot, supplied much of the material relating to the descendants of Jean Baptiste[4] Vallé and these notes were further enriched by data given by Mrs. Cora[7] Vallé Byers and Mrs. John B. Vallé. Mr. Henry L.[7] Rozier, of Ste. Genevieve, furnished the notes on the Vallé-Rozier families, and Dr. Louis J.[6] Villars, of Fredericktown, supplied the material relating to the descendants of Marie Louise[4] Vallé Villars.



JEAN BAPTISTE VALLE'
1760-1849

west of the Mississippi, the government of Upper Louisiana had been administered from Kaskaskia. After the death of François[3] Vallé in 1783, Don Francisco Cartabona de Oro became commandant of Ste. Genevieve, and after him Don Henri Peyroux de la Coudreniere, who held office in 1787, as he petitioned for a grant of land in that year (See Missouri Land Claims). François[4] Vallé became commandant after Peyroux, continuing in that office until his death in 1804, when he was followed by his brother, Jean Baptiste[4] Valle. It is said that Louis du Breuil Villars, son-in-law of Francois[3] Valle, served as civil commandant of Ste. Genevieve for a time, though just when does not appear.

The activity of the French residents of the district of Ste. Genevieve was manifested chiefly in three ways, that is, in agriculture, in trading for furs with the Indians, and in mining in the interior. Members of the Vallé family were among the leaders in all of these fields of enterprise.

1. Pierre[1] La Vallée, the first of the name in America, emigrated from Rouen, France, to Canada about the year 1660. He was born in 1645, and was the son of Pierre La Vallé and Madeleine Dumesnil, of the Parish of Saint Saens, District of Rouen. Pierre, the emigrant, married, 12 January, 1665, at Quebec, Marie Thérése Le Blanc, who was born in 1651, the daughter of Leonard Le Blanc and Marie Riton.

Children:

i. Pierre, baptized at the end of the year 1665.

ii. Marie, born in 1668; married Jean Parant at Beauport, 10 February, 1687.

iii. Susanne, baptized at Quebec, 16 March, 1670, married at Beauport, 10 February, 1687, Rene Rodin.

iv. Marguerite, baptized at Quebec, 21 February, 1672, married at Beauport, 30 November, 1690, Jean de Rainville.

v. Pierre Vincent, baptized at Beauport, 13 October, 1672, married first, at Beauport,

23 November, 1699, Marie Madeleine Vachon, who died in 1703. He married second, 21 July, 1704, Madeleine Couralt.

vi. Michel, born in 1677, married at Beauport, 3 February, 1712, Genevieve Baugy.

2. vii. Charles[2], born in 1679, married at Beauport, 12 September, 1707, Genevieve Marcou. He died 22 February, 1753, aged 75 years, and his wife died 9 May, 1756.

viii. Nicolas Marie, baptized at Beauport, 28 April, 1681, married, first, at Beauport, 22 November, 1712, Marie Louise Lefebvre, who died in 1730. He married second, at Quebec, 23 July, 1736, Marie Anne Benoit.

ix. Marthe, baptized at Beauport, 25 April, 1683, married at Riviere Ouelle, 28 August, 1702, Charles Miville.

x. Marie Charlotte, baptized at Beauport, 21 September, 1685; married at Beauport, 22 August, 1707, Pierre Chauveau.

2. Charles[2] La Vallée and Genevieve Marcou were married at Beauport, 12 September, 1707.

Children:

i. Charles, baptized at Beauport, 5 March, 1709; married first, 18 January, 1732, Genevieve Crete; second, 7 September, 1761, Marie Francoise Parant.

ii. Pierre, baptized at Beauport, 11 October, 1710, died the same year.

iii. Jean, baptized at Beauport, 8 October, 1711, married first, 5 February, 1746, Madeleine Monjou; second, at Quebec, 18 November, 1754, Marie Chevalier.

iv. Marie Genevieve, baptised at Beauport, 4 December, 1713, married 27 July, 1739, Jacques Parant.

3. v. François[3], born 2 January, 1716, baptized at Beauport; married at Kaskaskia, of the Illinois, 7 January, 1748, Marianne Billeron.

vi. Joseph, baptized at Beauport, 21 February, 1718; married 29 August, 1741, Genevieve Parant.

vii. René, baptized at Beauport, 16 December, 1719; died 23 January, 1720.

viii. Marie Louise, baptized at Beauport, 16 December, 1719, died 23d, January, 1720.

ix. Marie Louise, baptized at Beauport, 25 April, 1721, married, 6 February, 1747, Jean Baptiste Rochereau.

x. Louis, baptized at Beauport, 17 December, 1722, married, 8 January, 1748, Marie Genevieve Monjou.

xi. Pierre François, baptized at Beauport, 26 March, 1724, died the 30th of the same month.

xii. Pierre, baptized at Beauport, 31 March, 1725.

3. François[3] La Vallée (*Charles*[2], *Pierre*[1]), fifth child of Charles La Vallée and Genevieve Marcou, was the ancestor of the Vallée family of Missouri. He was brave and adventurous and left his family home at Beauport to seek his fortune in the Mississippi Valley. Some time prior to 1748 he arrived at Kaskaskia, the commercial center of the Illinois country. It was in that year that he married Marianne Billeron, dit Lafatigue, and not long thereafter he removed to Ste. Genevieve on the Missouri side of the Mississippi where nearly all of his children were born. There is a tradition in the Vallé family that when it became known that the Spanish authorities were coming to Upper Louisiana, to take possession of it, many of the inhabitants of Ste. Genevieve wished to leave the country. In great excitement they went to François Vallée and threatened to kill him if he would not accompany them. This

he refused to do. A day or two afterward, Don Pedro Piernas, the Spanish officer in command, came into the town with a number of troops. Having almost no food or other supplies for his men, who had come all the way from New Orleans by boat, Piernas applied to François Vallée, who furnished all things necessary for the comfort of the men he could not help regarding as intruders. He also loaned money to Piernas. The two men became friends, and when Piernas assumed the governorship of Upper Louisiana at St. Louis, François Vallée was made commandant of the Post Ste. Genevieve, civil and military judge of the settlement, which office he held until his death in 1783.[1]

It is thought that it was about this time, 1770, that the second "e" in the name was dropped. This changed it from a French to a Spanish name, and it is in this way that François Vallé signed all his official papers. It is said

[1] The Spanish census of Upper Louisiana for 1787, gives the following record of the Vallé families at Ste. Genevieve:

Don Francisco Vallé, aged 29; Donna Maria, his wife, aged 28; Francisco, Marie, and Juliana, their children; 39 slaves; three houses on his place; products for the year were 890 minots of wheat, 1,200 pounds of tobacco; 200 pounds of salt; 1,100 minots of corn. He was a lieutenant of militia; 47 persons dwelt in his establishment.

Don Juan Bautista Vallé, aged 27; Juanna, his wife, aged 27; Bautista, aged 4, and Francisco, aged 2, their children; 37 slaves; one dwelling house; products for the year, 100 minots of wheat; 200 pounds of tobacco; 600 pounds of salt; 1,400 minots of corn; occupation farmer, or landholder; 43 persons dwelt in his establishment.

Don Carlos Vallé, aged 36; 9 slaves; lieutenant of militia; ten persons dwelt in his establishment.

Carlos Vallé, aged 35; Isabel his wife, aged 29; Louis, their son, aged 1 year; products for the year, 90 minots of wheat, 180 minots of corn; farmer, or landholder; three persons dwelt in his house.

The same census records that Clementé Vallée, aged 37 years, a carpenter, dwelt in Carondelet (Vide Poche), and that Alexos Vallé aged 44, lived at St. Charles, that he had one residence, and that he raised 130 minots of wheat, 8 pounds of tobacco, and 150 minots of corn in that year.

The Spanish Census for 1791 has this record:

Don Francisco Vallé; 12 whites, 38 slaves; 2 houses; products, 400 minots of wheat; 1,000 minots of corn; 1,150 pounds of tobacco; 100 minots of salt; 200 pounds of lead; 50 persons dwelt in his establishment.

that many private letters were written by him in which the name was spelled with the two "e's", but that form of spelling was not resumed by any of his descendants.

Following is a copy of the marriage record of François La Vallée and Marianne Billeron: "François Vallée, son of Charles Vallée, and of Genevieve Marcou, living in the government of Quebec, Parish of Beauport, Canada and Marianne Billeron, daughter of Leonard Billeron,[1] dit La

Don Juan Bautista Vallé; 10 whites; 38 slaves; 1 residence; products, 400 minots of wheat; 1,500 minots of corn; 2,000 pounds of tobacco; 150 minots of salt; 10,000 pounds of lead; 48 persons dwelt in his establishment.

Don Carlos Vallé; 2 whites; 100 minots of wheat; 120 minots of corn; 50 pounds of tobacco; 2 persons dwelt in his establishment.

Carlos Vallé, living in Carondelet (Vide Poche); 2 persons dwelling in his establishment, 1 white and 1 black; products; 50 minots of wheat, 50 minots of corn.

Alexos Vallé, living in St. Charles; 1 person dwelling in his house; products, 40 minots of wheat, 50 minots of corn; 800 pounds of tobacco.

Carlos Vallé, living in St. Charles; 6 persons in his house, 4 whites, and 2 blacks; products, 250 minots of wheat; 100 minots of corn; 80 pounds of tobacco.

In March, 1800, one Michel Vallé petitioned lieutenant Governor De Lassus for a grant of 800 arpens of land, saying that "having resided for a long time in this province, he would wish to form an establishment in the same." Missouri Land Claims, Document No. 16, page 303.

[1] Jacques Leonard Billeron, dit La Fatigue, married Marguerite Vasseur. He was the son of Pierre and Marie Marthe (Forcier) Billeron. Pierre Billeron was the son of Nicolas and Francoise (Huon) Billeron, of St. Sabin, diocese of Nantes, France. See Dictionnaire Genealogique des Familles Canadiennes, par L'Abbe Cyprien Tanguay, Volume II, page 280.

An interesting petition found in the archives of the Circuit Court of St Louis, signed by the three sons, then living of François Vallé and Marianne Billeron, presented to Francisco Cruzat, Lieutenant Governor follows:

HONORABLE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR:

Sir: — We Messrs Carlos, Francisco and Juan Bautista Vallé, all three brothers, present ourselves before you and state in most righteous form, that in virtue of the fact that our mother, Da Marianna Villeron Lafatique, has died; and according to the laws, and by will which she made with our father Dn. Francisco Vallé, who still lives, has chosen and named us and also our sister Da. Maria Luisa Vallé, as her sole and legal heirs to one-half of the property which belongs to her and which she possessed with our above mentioned father; and which both have gathered and

Fatigue, deceased, and of Madame Marie Catoire, widow of Leonard Billeron, deceased, residing in this town or Kaskaskia, have contracted to marry this 6th day of January, 1748, and were married the 7th January, 1748."

Marianne Billeron was born in 1729, and died in 1781. Children:

4. i. Marie Louise[4], married Louis Du Breuil Villars.
   ii. Charles[4] married Pelagie Carpentier and died in Louisiana, about 1852.
   iii. Joseph[4], born in 1756, killed by Indians in his twenty-first year.

accumulated by their labor and industry after their marriage; and further, in view of the fact that our above mentioned sister is at present in the city of New Orleans; and since we do not know whether she will herself come up to this town or whether she will appoint an agent who will represent her person and receive the part which is due her, we request you kindly to order that all the said effects remain in the power and care of our said father as chief trustee, until our sister before referred to, appears, either personally or by means of a representative to claim that which is due her; leaving until that time the making up of the inventory and the division of the aforesaid property, in accordance to the aforementioned will of our father and mother. This favor we hope to merit from your equity and justice, and I, Dn. Juan Bantista Vallé, having completed my fourteenth year, do name and appoint my aforesaid father with the purpose in view that, according to the laws, he represent my person.

Francisco Vallé, fils. Juan Bautista Vallé, fils. C. Vallé fils.

St. Genevieve 1781, Nov. 6.

In consequence of the petition made in the foregoing memorial by the heirs of the estate of the deceased Da. Marianna Vileron Lafatique, mother of said heirs, all the property of the deceased will remain for the better direction, care and protection in the power of the husband of the deceased, Dn. Francisco Vallé, father of the aforementioned heirs; until such a time as their sister Da. Maria Luisa Vallé, shall appear personally or through an agent before this tribunal, to claim the part which is due her of the estate of her aforementioned deceased mother; at which time will be made the necessary inventory and division of all the property referred to, according to the form prescribed by law and the circumstances of the will drawn up by the aforementioned Dn. Francisco Vallé and Da. Mariana Villeron Lafatique, father and mother of the aforesaid heirs.

FRANCISCO CRUZAT.

5. iv. François[4], born in 1758, died in 1804, married Marie Carpentier.

6. v. Jean Baptiste[4], born 25th September, 1760, died, 3 August, 1849; married Jeanne Barbeau, 7 January, 1783.

4. Marie Louise[4] Vallé (*Francois*[3], *Charles*[2], *Pierre*[1]), eldest child of Francois Vallé and Marianne Billeron, was born about 1750. She married Louis Du Breuil Villars. From the records preserved by the Commissioners of Land Titles in Missouri it appears that Louis Du Breuil Villars died previous to 10 September, 1796, for on that day "Mary Luise Vallé widow of the retired Lieutenant Don Luis Villars," petitioned Don Zenon Trudeau, Lieutenant Governor, for a grand of a league square of land "in the place called the Grande Glaise," near Ste. Genevieve, giving as a reason why such petition should be granted that she wished to "establish a stock farm for the maintenance of her family which is considerable." The favor "she hopes to deserve, in consideration of the services of her husband — and also in consideration of the sacrifices made by her late father for the welfare of these settlements." (Missouri Land Claims).

From the foregoing petition to Governor Cruzat it appears that Marie Louise Valle Villars was a resident of New Orleans in 1781. It is a tradition in the family that after the death of her husband she returned to Ste. Genevieve with her children. Her brother, Jean Baptiste Vallé, told the Land Commissioners, 21 June, 1806, that his sister was the mother of eight children. The minutes of the same day's meeting of the commissioners record that the "claimant's husband was a captain in the regiment of Louisiana; that he served sometimes as commandant at Ste. Genevieve, in which capacity he never received any compensation for his services." Mrs. Villars was dead before 23 May, 1803.[1]

The sons of Mrs. Villars made a petition for a further grant of land in 1799, which claim came up for adjudication

[1] See Archives of St. Louis, book 3, page 396.

before the Board or Land Commissioners on 21 June, 1806. Auguste Chouteau testified before the Board that "Mr. Villars, father of the above claimants, was for thirty years a captain in the Spanish service; was also civil commandant at Ste. Genevieve and Arkansas for many years." (Missouri Land Claims.)

In an article on the history of Augustus C. Dodge, published in the Iowa Historical Record for January, 1887, Rev. William Salter states that M. De Villars was a French gentleman" who came to New Orleans, February 12, 1777, as one of the commissioners appointed by the French government for the purchase of goods in that market for the French West India Islands."

These apparently conflicting statements may some day be explained.[1]

Children:

i. Euphrasie[5], married..... Price.
ii. Antoine[5], married..... Aubuchon; they had a son named Antoine.
7. iii. Caroline[6], married first, Charles Smith, and second,..... Bishop.
8. iv. Joseph Athanas Du Breuil[5], born 1786, died 26 December, 1865, married Eleanore St. Gemme.
v. Marie[5].
9. vi. Marcelite[5], married Joseph Hertich.
vii. Matilda[5], married first..... De Lassus, and second, Joseph Vital Beauvais.
viii. .....

5. François[4] Vallé, (*François*[3], *Charles*[2], *Pierre*[1]), born in 1758, died 6 March, 1804, succeeded Peyroux as commandant of the post of Ste. Genevieve. Upper Louisiana

[1] M. Villars was probably the son of M. Claude Joseph Dubreuil, called also Villars Dubreuil of New Orleans, who came to Louisiana from Dijon in 1719. He was the first to build levees and make drainage ditches, and established the first sugar plantation in Louisiana. "He was one of the most public spirited, useful and intelligent of all the inhabitants of Louisiana." (See 1 Fortier's History of Louisiana, pp. 102, 103, 133.)

was formally transferred to the United States in March, 1804, Captain Amos Stoddard being the representative of civil and military authority. François[4] died a few days before the transfer and Captain Stoddard appointed his brother, Jean Baptiste[4] Vallé to the office of commandant.

Don François[4] was buried under the commandant's pew in the old church of Ste. Genevieve. Several years later his wife's body was placed beside his grave. The old church was built of logs, but later a stone church was erected in its place, which has been replaced by the present large brick structure. Father Weiss, for years the parish priest of Ste. Genevieve, told Mrs. Lightfoot that he had seen the original foundations, and that the grave of François[4] Vallé lies, he thought, under the sanctuary of the present church.

François[4] Vallé married Marie Carpentier, daughter of Henri Carpentier and Marie Aubuchon.

Children:

10. i. Marie[5], married Joseph Pratt in 1796.
11. ii. François, Jr.[5], born December 8, 1779, married Mrs. Mary A. Kerlagon, a widow, in 1828.
12. iii. Julie[5], married Dr. Walter Fenwick.
13. iv. Celeste[5], married Captain Bullett.
14. v. Catherine[5], married Robert Tarver Brown.
15. vi. Emilie[5], married Walter Wilkinson of the United States Army.
16. vii. Charles Carpentier[5], born 5 March, 1799, married Melanie St. Gemme. He was christened Charles Francois Pierre Auguste but was known through life as Charles Carpentier Vallé. His godfather was Carlos Auguste De Lassus "Lieutenant Governor of Illinois," and his godmother was Julie Vallé.

6. Jean Baptiste[4] Vallé (*Francois*[3], *Charles*[2] *Pierre*[1]), fifth child of François Vallé and Marianne Billeron, was born in 1760. After the death of his brother François[4] in

1804, he was made commandant of the post of Ste. Genevieve, holding that office less than a year, as the American method of administration succeeded the Spanish form, under which Jean Baptiste[4] Vallé had lived. He was one of the most influential citizens of his section, and was greatly beloved. He was called "Père Vallé" by his relatives. He died in 1849. In 1804 he was appointed Justice of the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace by Wm. Henry Harrison Governor of Indiana Territory and district of Louisiana.

Baptismal record, Jean Baptiste[4] Vallé: "The 3rd October (1760) I performed the ceremony of baptism for Jean Baptiste, born eight days ago, and christened at the same time; son of François Vallée and of Marianne Billeron (dit Lafatigue), married. His godfather was Antoine La Source, and his godmother, Marie Dufresne, who have signed this with me.

Aubert, Jesuit.

Mark of
X
godfather. Marie Michel.

Lagrange."

Marriage record of Jean Baptiste[4] Vallé and Jeanne Barbeau; "January 7, 1783, after the publication of three bans of marriage at mass in our parish of Ste. Genevieve, as well as in the church of St. Joseph in Prairie Du Rocher, between Jean Baptiste Vallé, native of Ste. Genevieve, of the Illinois, son of Don François Vallé, captain of militia, and lieutenant in particular, judge of the post of Ste. Genevieve, and of Dame Marie Anne Billeron (deceased), father and mother on the one side; and between Marie Jeanne Barbeau, native of this parish of St. Joseph, of Prairie du Rocher, daughter of Sieur Baptiste Barbeau, captain of militia and commandant of said post, and of Marie Jeanne LaGrace, father and mother on the other side, having discovered no canonical impediment to this marriage, we, missionary priest apostolic and vicar general of Monsigneur, the Bishop of Quebec, in the country of the Illinois,

undersigned, having received their mutual consent to this marriage, have given them the nuptial benediction, according to the form prescribed by our Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church, here in presence of their parents and friends, who have signed with us as well as the bride and bridegroom, after reading.

P. Gibault, priest."

Children:

17. i. Jean Baptiste[5], born 23 September, 1783, died 26 January, 1837.
18. ii. François B.[5], born 1785, died 30 July, 1851.
19. iii. Felix[5], married Odile Pratte; died in 1877.
    iv. Louis[5], married Mrs. De Lassus; died 23 September, 1833. President Jefferson appointed him a cadet to the United States Military Academy at West Point, 11 January, 1805. He was promoted to 2nd lieutenant in 1808. In 1815, Governor William Clark appointed him pay master of militia for Missouri Territory.

7. Caroline[5] Villars, married first, Charles Smith, and second, ———— Bishop.

Children of the first marriage:

i. Villars[6] Smith.
ii. Charles[6] Smith.

8. Joseph Athanas Du Breuil[5] Villars, born 1786, died 28 December, 1865, married Eleanore St. Gemme.

Children:

20. i. Caroline[6], born 1830, died 1900, married Samuel Collier.
21. ii. Louis Joseph[6], married first, Julia Gregory, second, Belle Gregory.

9. Marcelite[5] Villars married Joseph Hertich, a Swiss gentleman who conducted an academy near St. Genevieve.

Children:

i. Joseph[6].

22. ii. Charles[6], married Mary Rozier.

iii. Villars[6].

iv. Henry[6].

23. v. Clara[6], married Augustus Caesar Dodge.

10. Marie[5] Vallé, married Joseph Pratte in 1796. He was a prosperous merchant of Ste. Genevieve, and later of Pratt's Landing in Perry County. Mrs. Pratt died in 1841, and her husband in 1847.

Children:

i. Everiste F.[6], married Rosine Guignon of Fredericktown.

24. ii. Eulalie[6], married Charles Gregoire.

25. iii. Peter Rosamond[6], married Louise Beauvais of Perry County.

26. iv. Odile[6], married Felix Vallé of Ste. Genevieve (see 19).

v. Emanuel[6], went to California in 1850, married, and left one son, Joseph.

27. vi. Mary[6], married Augustus Gregoire.

28. vii. Bernard S.[6]

viii. Francis X.[6], married Cora H. Cox, daughter of Caleb Cox of St. Louis and Fredericktown. He died in 1895, aged 81, and his widow lives at St. Genevieve, with her brother, William B. Cox.

29. ix. Juliette[6], married Gilbert Nettleton.

30. x. Emily[6], married Walter B.[6] Wilkinson of Perry County (see 38).

xi. Charles H.[6]

xii. Celeste[6].

11. François[5] Vallé, (*François*[4], *François*[3], *Charles*[2], *Pierre*[1]), second child of Don François Vallé[4], was born in Ste. Genevieve, December 8, 1779. At an early age he was sent to St. Louis to attend school. When he was thirteen he was taken to New Orleans, to the care of Daniel Clark, Jr., who sent him to New York where he was

placed under the guardianship of Gouverneur Morris, who put him in school at Newark, New Jersey. He remained in Newark until the spring of 1795 when he returned to Ste. Genevieve, traveling by flat boat down the Ohio River. Near what is now Paducah he found Paschal Detchemendy who had been sent by his father to meet him.

In 1802, after applying for a grant of land from the Spanish government, he went to Kentucky to get a millwright to build a saw mill on the River Aux Vasse, Ste. Genevieve District.

After the transfer of Upper Louisiana in 1804, and the death of his father, the organization of American government in what is now Missouri was begun by General William Henry Harrison, then governor of the Northwest Territory. François met General Harrison at Kaskaskia Landing and escorted him to the Vallé house in Ste. Genevieve. In making appointments, the governor thought to compliment the family of the late commandant by appointing his son, François, to the position of sheriff. This pleased the mother of the appointee until she made inquiry concerning the duties of a sheriff of her son-in-law, Pratte, who told her that the sheriff was the official hangman. This information changed the mother's pleasure to rage, and she declared that General Harrison could not remain in her house after so insulting her family. The governor was obliged to revoke the appointment.

Some time after this episode, François[5] joined Pierre Menard on a trading trip with the Indians on the headwaters of the Missouri. He was absent nearly six years. In 1810 he received a letter, which had been long delayed, in which his mother urged him to return to Ste. Genevieve. He arrived in time to witness the death of his mother, and the fatal duel between Dr. Walter Fenwick, his brother-in-law, and Thomns T. Crittenden.

In January, 1813 François[5] Vallé was appointed ensign in the 24th Infantry, U. S. Army; was promoted to 3d lieutenant, 13 May, 1813; and to 2nd lieutenant, 30 August, 1813. He resigned in 1815 at the close of the War of

1812. In 1822 he was elected sheriff of Ste. Genevieve County, and at the expiration of his term of office, devoted himself to mining in the lead mines of that section. In 1828 he married Mrs. Mary A. Kerlagon, a widow with three children.

Children:

31. i. François[6], born 9 April, 1829.
ii. John B.[6], born 29 October, 1831, died unmarried.
32. iii. Louis[6]; born 22 January, 1836.

12. Julie[5] Vallé, married Dr. Walter Fenwick, a popular physician of Ste. Genevieve. He fought a duel with Thomas T. Crittenden in 1811 and was killed. His wife died a few years later.

Child:

i. Zeno[6], who died before his mother.

13. Celeste[5] Vallé, married Captain Bullett of Kentucky.

Child:

i. Celeste[6], who married Beverly Allen, a prominent lawyer of Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis. She died without issue. Mr. Allen later married a daughter of Judge Nathaniel Pope.

14. Catherine[5] Vallé, married Robert Tarver Brown who came from Tennessee.

Children:

33. i. John[6], married Miss Grass of Perry County.
34. ii. Walter[6], married Miss Rochford of Perry County.
iii. Mary[6], married Felix Gregoire.
35. iv. Robert, T., Jr.[6], married Mary Holden.
v. Julia[6], married Francis H.[6] Wilkinson.
36. vi. William[6], married Ann Noell.
37. vii. François Vallé.[6]
viii. Thomas J.[6], died unmarried.
ix. Zeno[6], died unmarried.
x. Everiste[6], lives in California.
xi. Charles Carpentier[6], married Mary De Lassus. He died in 1865.

xii. Catherine[6], married Dr. J. Barton Cox, now deceased, Mrs. Cox lives in Ste. Genevieve.

xiii. Louis[6], died young.

15. Emilie[5] Vallé, married Walter Wilkinson, a son of General James Wilkinson, who was Governor of Upper Louisiana in 1805. Walter Wilkinson was appointed 1st lieutenant, 24th infantry, 2 July, 1812; promoted to captain, 15 August, 1813. He was a director of the Bank of St. Louis in 1816. He died in 1837, and his wife died in 1849.

Children:

38. i. Walter B.[6], married Emily L.[6] Pratte.
ii. Francis H.[6], married Julie[6] Brown.
39. iii. Mary M.[6], married John F. Darby.
iv. Benjamin[6], married Palmire Papin.
40. vi. Harriet, married Henry Papin.
41. vii. Thomas L.[6], married Julie Elizabeth Picotte.
viii. Felix.[6]

16. Charles Carpentier[5] Valleé (*François*[4], *François*[3], *Charles*[2], *Pierre*[1]), was born in 1798. He was a member of the State Senate of Missouri in 1834–36. His home was for many years at Mine La Motte, Fredericktown, where he built a handsome home which is still standing. He married Melanie St. Gemme.

Children:

42. i. Francis L[6].
ii. Charles Carpentier[6], married Miss Hudson of Perry County, and removed to California. He is a practicing physician of San Diego, California.
43. iii. Louis Bartholomew[6].
iv. Mary[6], married ———— Leclere, of Galveston, Texas.
v. Emily[6], married Vermont Allen, of Mine La Motte. She is now a widow residing at Fredericktown.
vi. Auguste[6], married Miss Roussin, of Ste. Genevieve.
vii. Melanie[6], married John L. Bogy, now deceased, Mrs. Bogy resides in St. Louis.

17. Jean Baptiste[5] Vallée (*Jean Baptiste*[4], *François*[3], *Charles*[2], *Pierre*[1]), married first, 4 April, 1815, Marie Louise Janis, born 12 June, 1798, died 4 May, 1827, second, Pelagie Janis, his sister-in-law, born 10 September, 1804, died 15 January, 1848.

Children by first wife:

44. i. François Jules[6], born 15 January, 1820.
45. ii. Zoe[6], married Francis Claud Rozier.
46. iii. Marie Louise[6], married Felix Rozier.

Child by second marriage:

47. iv. Mary[6], married Firmin A. Rozier.

18. François B.[5] Vallé (*Jean Baptiste*[4], *Francois*[3], *Charles*[2], *Pierre*[1]), born 1785, died 30 July, 1851, married Catherine Beauvais who died 3 June, 1854, aged sixty-seven years.

Children:

48. i. Amédée[6], now deceased, married Marie Louise Sarrade.
ii. Mary[6], married Anthony La Grave.
iii. Néree[6], married Aglae Chouteau, daughter of Henry Chouteau.
iv. Clotilde[6], married Adolf Rozier of New Orleans.
v. John B.[6], married Lucie Desloge, daughter of Firmin Desloge.
vi. Francis[6], died unmarried.
49. vii. Juliette[7], married Dr. Thomas Reyburn.

19. Felix[5] Vallé (*Jean Baptiste*[4], *François*[3] *Charles*[2], *Pierre*[1]), married Odile[6] Pratte, daughter of Marie[5] Vallé and Joseph Platte. He died in 1877, and his wife in 1894. She was proficient in good works, and was affectionately spoken of in Ste. Genevieve as "Mama Valle."

Child:

i. Louis Felix[6], born 1823, died 1857, leaving no descendents.

20. Caroline[6] Villars, born 1830, died 1900, married Samuel Collier.

Children:

i. Clara[7].
ii. Alice[7].
50. iii. Mary[7], married Frank Williams.
51. iv. Joseph W.[7], married Hattie Allen.
v. Samuel[7].
52. vi. George[7], married Mary Kashner.

21. Louis Joseph[6] Villars, married first, Julia Gregory, second, Belle Gregory. Dr. Villars is now a resident of Fredericktown.

Children by the first marriage:

53. i. Augustus[7], married Sarah De Guire.
54. ii. Louis[7], married Mary Allen.

Child by the second marriage:

iii. Claude[7], married Icy Forgy.

22. Charles[6] Hertich, married Mary Rozier.

Children:

55. i. Charles[7], married Sarah Vivian.
ii. Villars[7]
iii. Herbert[7]
iv. Auguste[7]
56. v. Clara[7], married Frank Roeder.
57. vi. Blanche[7], married .....LaCompte.

23. Clara[6] Hertich married Augustus Caesar Dodge. He was one of the most prominent men of his time in the west. He represented Iowa in Congress in the territorial days of that State, and in 1848 was elected Senator from Iowa. (Augustus C. Dodge was a son of General Henry and Christiana (McDonald) Dodge. Henry Dodge was the son of Israel and Nancy (Hunter) Dodge.)

Children:

i. William W.[7] now living at Omaha, Nebraska.
ii. Charles[7].

24. Eulalia[6] Pratte, married Charles Gregoire and removed to Dubuque, Iowa.

Child:

i. Charles[7] Jr.

25. Peter Rosamond[6] Pratte, married Louise Beauvais of Perry County.

Children:

i. Emily[7], married Jules Rozier, of St. Mary's, Mo.

ii. Matilda[7], married D. D. Myers of Dubuque, Iowa.

iii. Joseph Pratte[7], married Henrietta Burns of Perry County.

26. Odile[6] Pratte, married Felix Vallé (see 19).

27. Mary[6] Pratte, married Augustus Gregoire and removed to Dubuque, Iowa.

Children:

i. Felix[7] died unmarried.

ii. Julie[7], married Frederick Chouteau. She was drowned with her sister Amanda.

iii. Amanda[7].

28. Bernard S.[6] Pratte, was married three times, first, to Miss Guignon, of Fredericktown, who died without issue; second, to Jane Coffman, daughter of Col. Joseph Coffman, and third, to Ann Rochford.

Children of the second marriage:

i. Mary E.[7], married Robert Madison, and resides in Jefferson County, Mo.

ii. Joseph[7], died unmarried.

iii. Bernard S.[7] Jr.

Children of the third marriage:

iv. Jennie[7], married J. Wilford Layton, now deceased. Mrs. Layton lives in St. Louis.

v. Bertha[7], married Ernest C. Dodge, now of St. Louis.

29. Juliette[6] Pratte, married Gilbert Nettleton.

Children:

i. Mary L.[7]

ii. Celeste L.[7] married Willard Wall of Southern Illinois.

30. Emily[6] Pratte, married Walter B. Wilkinson, of

Perry County, who died in 1853. Mrs. Wilkinson died in 1890.

Children:

i. Joseph[7], died unmarried.
ii. Ferdinand[7], married Amanda Beauvais.
iii. Emma[7], married Daniel Garin, now of St. Louis.
iv. E. Pratte[7].
v. Felix Vallé[7].

31. François,[6] Vallé (*François*[5], *François*[4], *François*[3], *Charles*[2], *Pierre*[1]), was born 9 April, 1829. He joined the Confederate Army in Missouri in 1861, and served in Marmaduke's Brigade, with the rank of captain. With his regiment he surrendered at Shreveport, Louisiana, 9 June, 1865. He is now in his seventy-eighth year, and is strong and vigorous. In 1853 he married Columbia Holden, daughter of Col. Edward Holden, of Perryville. He resides in St. Louis.

Children:

i. François[7], killed in the Panhandle of Texas by cattle thieves.
ii. Mary Catherine[7].
58. iii. Harriet[7], married, ... Boyce, now of St. Louis.

32. Louis[6] Vallé (*François*[5], *François*[4], *François*[3], *Charles*[2], *Pierre*[1]), was born 22 January, 1836, married Martina Layton, of Perry County. He now lives in St. Louis.

Children:

i. Louis, J. B.[7]
ii. Charles W.[7]
iii. Kate[7].
iv. Cora[7].
v. Cecelia[7].
vi. Zoe[7].

33. John[6] Brown married Miss Grass of Perry County. He died about 1864.

Child:

i. Robert T.[7], now of Perryville.

34. Walter[6] Brown, married Miss Rochford, of Perry County.

Children:

i. Harriet[7], married Louis Scheef, of St. Mary's.

ii. Cora[7], married Jasper Menard.

iii. Susan[7], married Joseph Fana now of Joplin.

35. Robert T.[6] Brown, Jr., married Mary Holden, of Perryville. She died in 1844. In 1846 he was among the first to volunteer in the Mexican War. He was lieutenant in Captain Thomas M. Horine's Company, in Col. Sterling Price's regiment, and acting commissary and Quarter Master; murdered at Vallas, New Mexico, 27 June, 1847.

Child:

59. i. Ellen[7], married Jonah P. Severington, of St. Louis County, now deceased.

36. William[6] Brown, married Ann Noell, of Perry County.

Child:

i. Emily[7], married James Burgie, of Perry, now deceased. Mrs. Burgie resides in St. Louis.

37. François Vallé[6] Brown, married.....

Children:

i. Robert T.[7], now of St. Louis.

ii. Barton[7], now of St. Louis.

iii. Thomas[7], now of St. Francois County.

38. Walter B.[6] Wilkinson, married Emily L.[6] Pratte, of Perry County (see 30).

39. Mary M.[6] Wilkinson, married John F. Darby, a distinguished lawyer of St. Louis, mayor of the city, member of Congress, and author of "Personal Recollections," published in 1880.

Children:

i. Walter H.[7], living in Montana.

ii. Edwin[7].

iii. Caswell F.[7], living in Montana.

iv. Benjamin[7].

60. v. Julia[7], married Bernard Pratte Taylor, of Warren County, who died 22 February, 1907.

vi. Mary H.[7], living in St. Louis.

40. Harriet[6] Wilkinson, married Henry Papin of St. Louis. She now resides in Webster Groves.

Children:

i. Louis.[7]

ii. Celeste[7], married William McCartney.

iii. George[7], now of Webster Groves.

iv. Hattie[7].

v. Rita[7].

41. Thomas L.[6] Wilkinson, now deceased, married Julia Elizabeth (called Rita) Picotte, daughter of Honore and Thérèse (Duchouquette) Picotte. His widow resides in St. Louis.

Children:

i. Honore[7].

ii. Walter[7].

iii. Louis[7], deceased.

iv. Therese[7].

v. Celeste[7].

vi. Harriet[7].

vii. Felix[7].

42. Francis L.[6] Vallé (*Charles Carpentier*[5] *François*[4], *François*[3], *Charles*[2] *Pierre*[1]), married Miss Tessereau, the adopted daughter of his cousin, Everiste Pratte.

Children:

i. Everiste[7], now deceased. Married Miss Boyce, who now lives at Ste. Genevieve.

ii. Charles Carpentier[7].

iii. Herbert[7].

iv. Rosine[7], married Wm. Shaw, and resides in St. Francois County.

v. Minnie[7], married ———— Jackson.

vi. Marie[7].

43. Louis Bartholomew[6] Vallé (*Charles Carpentier*[5] *François*[4], *François*[3], *Charles*[2], *Pierre*[1]), married Philo Janis.

Children:

i. Flora[7].

ii. Nannie[7], married Martin V. Ziegler.

iii. Marie[7].

44. François Jules[6] Vallé (*Jean Baptiste*[5], *Jean Baptiste*[4], *François*[3], *Charles*[2], *Pierre*[1]) married 17 January, 1843, Isabelle Sargeant, daughter of Dr. Ichabod and Austis (Brown) Sargeant, who was born 6 July, 1825, died 7 December, 1880.

Children:

i. Jean Baptiste[7], born 27 May, 1844, died 28 June, 1847.

ii. Mary Isabella[7], born 18 August, 1845, died 14 August, 1847.

iii. Ichabod Sargeant[7], born 21 October, 1847, died 14 September, 1848.

iv. Marie Zoe[7], married Alfred R. Lightfoot, now living in New York.

v. Mary Grace[7], born 22 May, 1852, married Jessie L. January.

vi. Jessie[7], born 21 October, 1854, died 15 September, 1856.

vii. Jessie Adeline[7], born 5 September, 1856, married F. B. Ewing.

viii. Jules Felix[7], born 28 December, 1859, married Mary Clover. He is now a successful physician of St. Louis.

ix. Isabel[7], born 20 August, 1863, married George Austen.

x. Austis Maud Odile[7], born 9 December, 1866, married Wilson P. H. Turner, now of St. Louis.

xi. Paul Barbeau, born 25 November, 1869, married Isabella Bodine.

45. Zoe[6] Vallé, born at Ste. Genevieve, 5 December, 1821, died 10 July, 1900, married 22 October 1839, Francis Claud Rozier, born 1 February, 1816, died 7 May, 1879.

Children:

i. Francis Baptiste[7], born 28 June, 1841, died 16 April, 1855.

ii. Firmin Michel[7], born 28 September, 1843, died 19 November, 1845.

iii. Joseph[7], born 10 November, 1844, died 8 September, 1864.

iv. Marie Louise[7], born 11 August, 1847, died 28 February, 1848.

61. v. Henry Louis[7], born 3 June, 1849.

vi. Edward[7], born 26 February, 1852, died 9 February, 1853.

62. vii. Marie Zoe[7], born 8 February, 1854.

viii. Marie Constance[7], born 25 January, 1857.

63. ix. Alice Mary[7], born 6 October, 1859.

x. Emma[7], born 10 August, 1864, died 1 April, 1879.

46. Marie Louise[6] Vallé, born 7 February, 1827, died 6 October, 1890, married 23 February, 1845, Felix Rozier, born in Ste. Genevieve, 22 August, 1822, son of Ferdinand and Constance (Roy) Rozier.

Children:

i. John Baptiste[7], born 29 October, 1846, died 14 April, 1847.

ii. Francis Felix[7], born 30 March, 1848, died 13 August, 1875.

64. iii. Louise Amelia[7], born 31 December, 1849.

65. iv. Louis Joseph[7], born 28 February, 1852.

v. Joseph Edward[7], born 11 August, 1854, died 22 July, 1856.

vi. Edward[7], born 4 May, 1857.

vii. Sylvester[7], born 22 March, 1859, died 2 July, 1861.

viii. Joseph Ashby[7], born 19 April, 1861, died 13 November, 1862.

ix. Cora[7], born 19 April, 1861.

x. Joseph Jules[7], born 25 September, 1864, died 12 November, 1871.

66. xi. Odile Vallé[7], born 6 January, 1868.

47. Mary[6] Vallé, born in Ste. Genevieve, 12 February, 1832, died 7 August, 1899, married 22 January, 1850; Firmin A. Rozier, born 30 July, 1820, died 11 February, 1897. Firmin A. Rozier was a prominent citizen of Ste. Genevieve. He was the author of Rozier's "History of the Mississippi Valley."

Children:

67. i. John Firmin[7], born 22 January, 1851.
ii. Thomas Benton[7], born 28 August, 1852, died 27 October, 1854.
iii. Mary Eva[7], born 11 May, 1854, living in Ste. Genevieve.
iv. Dora Pelagie, born 5 August, 1855, living in Ste. Genevieve.
68. v. Mary Emily Athala[7], born 11 February, 1859, died 17 August, 1901.
vi. Joseph Thomas[7], born 6 January, 1862, living in Ste. Genevieve.
vii. Eugene Joseph[7], born 27 October, 1869.

48. Amédée[6] Vallè, now deceased (*François* B.[5], *Jean Baptiste*[4], *Francois*[3], *Charles*[2], *Pierre*[1]), born in Ste. Genevieve, 9 March, 1813, now deceased, married 5 January, 1841, Marie Louise Sarrade, born in Natchez, Mississippi, 7 February, 1824. Mrs. Vallé now lives in St. Louis.

Children:

i. Amédée[7], deceased.
ii. Felix[7], deceased.
iii. Mary[7], deceased.
iv. Bertha[7], deceased.
v. Alice Rosalie[7], married S. Prentiss Smith, now of San Francisco.
vi. Louis John[7].
vii. Cora Louise[7], married Andrew Byers, now of St. Louis.
viii. Ella Catherine[7], now of St. Louis.
ix. Edgar James[7].

x. Julia[7], now of St. Louis.

xi. Ida[7], married John A. Long, now of Kansas City.

49. Juliette[6] Vallé, now deceased, married Dr. Thomas Reyburn.

Children:

i. Vallé[7], now of St. Louis, born in St. Louis, 20 March, 1853; elected Judge of the Court of Appeals in 1902.

ii. Amédée[7], now of St. Louis.

iii. Thomas[7], now of St. Louis.

50. Mary[7] Collier, married Frank Williams.

Children:

i. Cora[8].

ii. Joseph[8].

51. Joseph W.[7] Collier, married Hattie Allen.

Child:

i. Joseph Le Roy[8].

52. George[7] Collier, married Mary Kashner.

Children:

i. Elmer.[8]

ii. Herbert[8].

iii. Louise[8].

iv. Ethel[8].

v. George[8].

vi. Louis[8].

53. Augustus[7] Villars, married Sarah De Guire.

Children:

i. Joseph[8].

ii. Blanche[8].

iii. Flora[8].

iv. Paul[8].

v. Jerold[8].

vi. Camille[8].

vii. Lucille[8].

54. Louis[7] Villars, married Mary Allen.

Children:

i. Allen D[8].

ii. Judith[8].

55. Charles[7] Hertich, married Sarah Vivian.
Children:
i. Joseph[8].
ii. Henry[8]
iii. Edith[8]

56. Clara[7] Hertich, married Frank Roeder.
Children:
i. Blanche.[8]
ii. Clara[8].

57. Blanche[7] Hertich, married.....LaCompte.
Child:
i. Alonzo La Compte[1].

58. Harriet[7] Vallé, married Boyce.
Children:
i. Francis Vallé[8].
ii. Charles M.[8]
iii. Helen[8].
iv. Celeste[8].
v. Ruth[8].

59. Ellen[7] Brown, married Jonah P. Severington, of St. Louis County.
Children:
i. Edward[8], now of Kansas City.
ii. William P.[8], now of St. Louis.
iii. Martha[8], married Charles J. Hewitt, now of St. Louis.
iv. Julie[8].
v. Arthur[8], now of St. Louis.
vi. Bert[8].
vii. Percy[8].

60. Julia[7] Darby, married Bernard Pratte Taylor of Warren County.
Children:
i. Mary Louise[8].
ii. John F. Darby[8].

61. Henry Louis[7] Rozier, of Ste. Genevieve, born June, 1849, married first, in Ste. Genevieve, 19 January, 1870, Mary Amanda Janis, daughter of Felix Janis and Mary

Lesieur, who died 31 December, 1880. He married, second, 4 June, 1884, Sallie M. Carlisle, daughter of James and Constance (Detchmendy) Carlisle.

Children by the first marriage:

i. Edgar Joseph[8], born 9 June, 1872, now of St. Louis.

ii. Welton Henry[8], born 9 May, 1877.

iii. Lesieur Francis[8], born 28 January, 1879, died 18 April, 1883.

Children by the second marriage:

iv. Maude Genevieve[8], born 22 June, 1885.

v. Zoe Constance[8], born 11 January, 1888.

vi. Francis James[8], born 5 October, 1891.

vii. Henry Louis, Jr.[8], born 28 December, 1894.

62. Marie Zoe[7] Rozier, born 8 February, 1854, married 19 October, 1881, Cyril Henry Gregoire, son of Charles H. Gregoire and Mary C. Janis.

Child:

i. Marie Zoe[8], born in Dubuque, Iowa, 30 July, 1882.

63. Alice Mary[7] Rozier, born 6 October, 1859,, married in Ste. Genevieve, 17 February, 1890, Edgar F. Shaw, son of Philip A. and Amelia L. (Cox) Shaw.

64. Louise Amelia[7] Rozier, born 31 December, 1849, married in Ste. Genevieve, 20 April, 1881, John L. Boverie, son of John and Clementine (Detchmendy) Boverie.

Child:

i. Marie Louise[8], born 8 December, 1884, died 19 March, 1885.

65. Louis Joseph[7] Rozier, born 28 February, 1852, married 1 September, 1874, Hattie Cole, of Jefferson County, near Valle's Mines.

Children:

i. Joseph Felix[8], born 25 May, 1875, married 5 September, 1900, Mignon Primm, of De Soto.

ii. Louis Clarence[8], born 26 September, 1876, died 11 July, 1877.

iii. Genevieve[8], born 22 January, 1879, died 5 October, 1882.

iv. Paul[8], born 7 January, 1883.

v. Lucille[8], born 12 December, 1887, died 14 April, 1888.

vi. Adele[8], born 1 May, 1885.

vii. Felix Cole[8], born 18, 1894.

66. Odile Vallé[7] Rozier, born 6 January, 1868, married 24 June, 1896, James M. Mahoney, of Bunker Hill, Illinois.

Child:

i. Felix Vallé, born 6 November, 1898.

67. John Firmin[7] Rozier, born 22 January, 1851, married 16 January, 1877, Emily Pelagie Janis, daughter of Felix and Mary (Lesieur) Janis.

Children:

i. Dudley[8], born 9 February, 1878.

ii. Linda M.[8], born 13 November, 1880.

iii. Lora[8], born 26 January, 1882.

iv. Percy[8], born 18 August, 1884, died 3 March, 1885.

v. Edna[8], born August, 7 1886.

vi. Vallé[8], born 1 February, 1890, died 3 June, 1890.

vii. Felix Janis[8], born 27 April, 1892.

viii. George[8], born 1 June, 1895.

ix. Raymond[8], born 1 October, 1897, died 26 April, 1898.

68. Mary Athala[7] Rozier, born 11 February, 1859, died 17 August, 1901, married 11 October 1880, Joseph A. Miller, of Providence, Rhode Island.

Children:

i. Mary Juliet[8], born 1 September, 1881.

ii. Joseph Firmin[8], born 2 June, 1888.

A BATCH OF OLD LETTERS, 1840–1854.

(DUNKLIN TO GOV. REYNOLDS.)

MAJÉ, December 18th, 1840.

His Excellency,
Thos. Reynolds,
Governor of Missouri.

SIR:

The commissioners appointed to survey and mark out the line between the States of Missouri and Arkansas were prevented by sickness from arriving at the place of beginning until October 17th, and were occupied at that place, in consequence of unfavorable weather for taking observations for the Latitude and variations of the needle, and in establishing the point of beginning, until the evening of October 25th; indeed we did not break up our encampment until the 28th. The point we established on the west bank of the Mississippi River at the intersection of the 36th degree North Latitude is 41.73 chains North of the point we supposed Mr. S. L. Brown established. We arrived at the east bank of the St. Francois river — 36 miles & 50 chs. distant from the place of beginning — on the 16th Nov. and believing, from the best information we could procure, that it was at that time impracticable to meander the St. Francois river, and being of opinion myself that it was of no great importance to meander it, we on the next day took up our march for the point on the west bank of that river, where 36° 30′ of North Latitude intersects it. We arrived at the "Chalk Bluffs" on the 21st Nov. where we were occupied in taking observations for the Latitude & variation of the needle until the 26th when we again commenced running the line, and on the 5th December, arrived in Big Black river. On the St. Francois river we started one chain north of Brown's line and on Big Black

river — 15 miles & 64 Chs. distant — we were five chains South of it. From the slow progress of the work, caused by the rise of the water in the low lands & the inclemency of the weather, the commissioners became convinced that the interest of the States we represented would be promoted by the postponement of the work until the latter part of next summer, consequently we discharged all the hands on the 8th day December making for each a reasonable allowance of time & money to take him home.

I desire shortly to be at Jefferson City for the purpose of making a draft on the Treasury, when I will exhibit an account of our expenses, both of Missouri & Arkansas.

With the highest respect
I am, Sir
Yr. Obt. Svt.

DAN'L DUNKLIN.

(STRINGFELLOW TO GOV. REYNOLDS.)

KEYTESVILLE, Sept. 20th, '42.

DEAR SIR:

By reason of my absence yours of the 12th inst. was not received until yesterday. Under the construction given by you to the Act of 1835 — I doubt not the propriety of your course; I had however supposed that you construed that act to mean as declared by the last legislature and that Bell having been elected prior to the passage of that law, Usher had claimed and perhaps represented himself as holding under the old Law — I did not know and could not learn the *exact time* of his first appointment — our Court is *bad enough* even without Usher, and my anxiety to have bettered a little if in any way possible led me to urge the appointment of another — of this however you have heard enough — You inquire whether Price is willing to serve again as a speaker — I am authorized to say that he would be pleased to receive the assurance that in the manner in

which he discharged his duties as speaker heretofore he gave satisfaction to his friends by being again selected to fill that office — It is not with him now, merely the desire for office — he would be *forced* to regard defeat as an implied if not express censure. For though he would not and could consider himself as possessing any special right to the office — yet all other things equal, the fact of his former service gives his position a somewhat different character from that of others. He does not electioneer for the office properly deeming it unbecoming — Scott, of Howard,[1] intimated to me the other day that unless Price declared himself in favor of districting the State he would be beaten for Speaker — I hope if he *should so declare himself that he may be beaten* — I cannot but despise the man, whatever his opinion on that subject abstractedly may be, who will sanction even impliedly so gross an outrage as that committed by the present Congress in its mandamus to the States. The states have already been shorn of a greater portion of their rights, sacrifice the little we have left and we had better at once abolish all our State constitutions, resolve ourselves again into Territories, and openly acknowledge the right of Congress to Legislate for us — Scott affects to disregard the Act of Congress — to consider unconstitutional — & says he will pass resolutions declaring it so — And yet at the same time he will by his acts, sanction it — For my own part I am in favor of the General Ticket system *abstractedly* — at all events I would resist districting until the act of Congress is repealed — That will be done by the next Congress, for with all their heavy threats it seems the whigs themselves dare not attempt the rejection of the representatives of the *non*-complying States.

I have heard that Tompkins will resign — I have been at a loss to imagine who would fill his place. Of the Judges *Clarke* is *decidedly* the *best* and he would not himself think of accepting the office or of its being tendered him — For all that has been said of Clarke, he is far bet-

[1] Chas. R. Scott, Representative in the 12th General Assembly.

ter than King, Atchison, Leland or McBride[1] — and from what I hear Hunt is a worse Judge than any of them — You know the talents & acquirements of the bar & bench far better than I, and I *know* you will make a good appointment — If we had not need of your services elsewhere I should be delighted to see you on the bench. I could then respect the *Court*. Leland & the lawyers, "are all the talk." It is admitted that he has fairly *whipped* them as yet.

How unfortunate that there is but one Secty. of the Senate there are already some ten or twelve candidates; Gilpin seems to be *almost universally* the choice for Clerk of the House.

Present me to my friends and believe me most warmly & truly yours.

B. F. Stringfellow.

To Hon. Thos. Reynolds,
Jefferson City,
Mo.

(Atchison to Gov. Reynolds.)

Platte City,
April 6, 1843.

My dear Sir:

Is it possible, Oh! tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the Streets of Askalon: That under the administration of the Illustrious Bracken the Exchecquer is empty, the treasury Bankrupt, for so I am informed by James Thomas, Your worthy successor. Indeed by the lord if things run on much longer there will be nothing to succeed to, however I do not attribute the bowelless state of the Treasury to your Excellency, but I do attribute it to your long par-

[1] Priestly H. McBride was appointed, vice Tompkins resigned, in August, 1845, by Governor Edwards. Judge McBride, along with the other members of the Court, was legislated out of office by a Constitutional Amendment Adopted January, 1849.

liment or I should rather say your rump parliment: the members of the parliament from this region report that the hungry state of the treasury was brought about by one Judge Leland, if this be the case you cannot in conscience justify the ways of all of the Judges of your nomination.

The principal object of this letter is upon another subject.

I am informed that the good people of Clinton County or a portion of them met together some short time since and passed a great many resolutions none of which I have seen; and among the rest of these proceedings resolved your friend into your worthy successor; now if I am correctly informed and conjecture aright this meeting was got up by the influence of a few Tyler men, I will not gentlemen office seekers, more for the purpose of gloryfying John Tyler than to render service to your humble servant. I informed you in my last letter that I did not aspire to be your successor, I now tell you in all sincerity that I will not be a candidate for governor nor for any other office whatever, there is a great effort with some good democrats in this region to split their party this is with some through Ignorance, with others their object is office under the Tyler administration.

What I say to you now is in confidence, Col. Armstrong McClintoc and Winslow Turner as I am informed were at the head of the aforesaid meeting, now you know Turner was at Jefferson City last winter he wished an office and was disappointed.

Col. McClintock wants an Indian agency from John Tyler now put this and that together and what does it spell, however I may be mistaken. I would be unwilling to them wrong even in thought they are and always have been strong friends, but I will not stand up to their Resolutions if they be such as they have been represented to me; but of one thing you may be certain that Shadrack Penn, is doing more to corrupt the Church with his heresies than all the open enemies we have, he has sold himself to all the abomi-

nations of the Hawkers and Pedlers of St. Louis. I do hope and trust, that St. Louis will never again elect a Democrat to the legislature; when she does, confusion always follows.

Yours, etc., etc.,

DAVID R. ATCHISON.

Thos. Reynolds, Esq.

P. S. I want my money, I want my money.
Shell out, shell out.

(ATCHISON TO GOV. REYNOLDS.)

PLATTE CITY,
Aug. 12th, 1843.

DEAR SIR:

I have just time to say that I received your two letters by J. B. Wells.

Upon the subject of prosecuting attorney I promised the boys that I would take no part in the appointment that I would hold off or I do assure you it would have given me great pleasure to have assisted you in this matter. I know and fully appreciate your situation in this matter and I would to god that I could have the appointing myself I would soon settle the matter.

Bela M. Hughes requested me to say to you that he withdraws his application for the aforesaid office and sends his best wishes for the success of his friend Hall.

Your friend,

DAVID R. ATCHISON.

P. S. I will write again upon all subjects very soon at great length.

D. R. A.

Friend Reynolds.

(NAPTON TO GOV. REYNOLDS.)

SALINE, Oct. 4th, 1843.

Governor
Th. Reynolds,
Dear Sir:

Governor Miller left my house this morning — he brought intelligence of the death of Dr. Linn, & I infer from his conversation, that he would be pleased to return to Washington as Senator next Winter.

It is needless to say a word to you in reference to the claims or character of the Governor. The Boonslick country is entitled to the Senator & I know of no one whose pretensions can compete with those of the Governor in this upper country.

Allow me to suggest that the sooner this appointment is made, the better. The genuine Democratic newspapers in the State & their friends will sustain any appointment you may make — the Whigs & conservative faction, headed by Penn, & followed at an humble distance by the Boonville Register, Pilot, Osage Yeoman, etc., will find fault about *any* appointment you may make, whether in the *Clique* or out of it. To prevent division among our *real* friends, hold out the sign at once — let them know under whose banner & in whose defence they must fight — & instead of busying themselves in getting recommendation for themselves or some friend, they will see the door shut & turn in & support zealously the man whom you may appoint. Whatever you do, therefore, do quickly.

Excuse this liberty on coming from an old & sincere friend

W. B. NAPTON.

P.S. I cannot think of anyone in this upper country who could have any pretension, unless it be Atchison. He is a clever fellow, but he would immortalize himself in the Senate. Gov. Miller's weight of character, his popu-

larity, past services, & unflinching firmness would seem to justify to your constituents & the world, his appointment to this responsible & exalted station.

[The foregoing letters are a part of the "Reynold's Collection" of manuscripts, a gift to the Society, 16 May, 1882, from Miss Leona Hardeman Reynolds, granddaughter of Governor Reynolds, now Mrs. Timmons.]

(ATCHISON TO TREAT.)

PLATTE CITY, May 29, 1853.

S. Treat,

Dear Sir:—

Your letter has just come to hand. I herewith send two letters, one to Marcy, the other to Davis — You must go to Washington, present the letters.

I will speak to the *whole State*, from the Court house in this town on Monday next, and from the church in Weston on Saturday week. My theme will be "*Nebraska*" & the "road to India." I will dwell a short time upon the reply to the Holly letter.

Of all the humbugs the old sinner has ever mounted, of all the lame, blind, windbroken, & spavined hobbies, the old villain ever bestrode, he has now mounted the most shabby, his "sitting astraddle of the big gun when it bursted" was nothing to it.

Yours truly,

D. R. ATCHISON.

(Judge Treat's notes: "Atchinson, 1853. He was then President pro tem of the U. S. Senate, and V. P. of U. S. — The 'old sinner' was Col. Benton. The 'big gun that bursted' was during Tyler's administration when Upshur was killed, Benton stunned, &c., at its experimental trial — the 'Stockton gun.'"

(JAMES S. ROLLINS TO MAJOR JOHN DOUGHERTY.)

COLUMBIA, Dec. 11th, 1854.

MY DEAR MAJOR:

I was delighted to-day to take from the office your very welcome letter of the 6th inst. I beg to assure you that I reciprocate warmly all the kindly statements which it contains, and in regard to most of the suggestions which it contains I certainly concur with you. I most sincerely wish that you were a member of the next General Assembly. I think now, that however we may have acted there as *young* men, in approaching a green old age we might make ourselves useful in promoting the best interests of the country. In regard to United States Senator, I am for preserving in good faith the identity and integrity of the Whig party. Let us not yet disband. Why should we? For however old issues may have changed or vanished, 'tis in the Whig heart of the country that we are to find those conservative elements which constitute the firm and true basis of our institutions. Besides for the memories of the past, we should repudiate the idea of abandoning our time honored flag — for common victories won, dangers encountered, hardships endured, reverses of fortune suffered, we should cling together — one other triumph over our ancient and bitter foe — and then one other again, when it will be announced in large capitals: "An Entire Whig Delegation from Missouri," and I shall be satisfied. If need be we can then reorganize, but first let us *bury* and preach the funeral of Bentonism (that done now) of Locofocism, of Achesonism, and then let us rear in their stead *Genuine* Whiggism — Southern Whiggism, Clay and Fillmore and Crittenden Whiggism, and all, I think, will be safe.

The contingency which you hint at in your letter, I hope and trust will not come — to choose between Locofocos for the Senate — For myself I am for a Whig, without regard to minor points, first, last and all the time — and I shall listen to nothing else, and this is a feeling with me,

without regard to selfish views — A seat in the American Senate, however desirable, or honorable I might regard it, coming gracefully and willingly from my political associates, would be worthless to me, if obtained by the sacrifice of a single principle, which I as a Whig professed to hold.

My candid opinion is that everything has been done, that Legislation can effect, to secure the safety and best interests of Missouri — and whilst I would vote for no men whom I did not believe to be entirely true to the State and her institutions, I think everything now depends upon our people. If they *will it* Kansas may be as Missouri, a slave state — if they do not *will it*, Kansas will be free territory? My motto is *less talk* and *more action!*

As for the reports circulated to my prejudice that I favor the freesoilism of Benton or any one else, I have only to say that there is not a man in this broad Union who would resist, sooner than myself, any improper or illegal interference with my rights or property — or who would in anyway attempt to circumscribe or tramel the constitutional rights of the South — the principle of the Douglas Bill is the proper one — If the people of any of the Territories want slavery, let them have it — if they don't want it, nobody ought to desire to force it upon them.

I would vote for Watkins most cheerfully, though Leonard would have all my first choice — I *don't think* I can go Acheson, or any other Loco-foco — I shall stick to the Whig ship just so long as she is above the water; as Capt. Luce stuck to the Arctic — When the old vessel goes down I believe I'll be content to go with her. I have not much hope of being elected to the Senate — indeed, if I know myself, I don't care for it much. Still, I think if they would put me in the Senate, make Fillmore, or some good *Know-Nothing* President, and *you Governor* of Kansas or Nebraska, the country I think for all useful and practical purposes, would get on well and happily.

I hope you will write to the Whig from your section, and at least keep the whig fires blazing upon the altar of their hearts — at least yet awhile.

How can I serve you at Jefferson? or anywhere, or anyhow?

I was glad to hear from Lewis. Tell the rascal if he is not married shortly I'll have a beautiful daughter ready for him. I believe I would like him as a son-in-law. Write to me freely at Jefferson, for I assure you, Major, I am always glad to hear from one whom I so highly prize, and to-day I was especially gratified and flattered to get your letter, and one from your old friend, Col. O'Fallon, both urging me for the Senate.

Make my regards acceptable to Mrs. Dougherty (whom I ought to know), as my wife desires to be remembered to you.

Most truly your friend,

JAMES S. ROLLINS.

We noticed some weeks since that a road had lately been completed from Fort Atkinson, (Council Bluffs) to Liberty, in this State — distance about 300 miles — since which we have learned that this road was opened under the inspection of Capt. J. S. Gray, by twenty-four soldiers of the Sixth Regt. U. S. Infantry, in 40 days, between the 1st of January, and the 10th of February last. During this time nineteen bridges and five canoes were built. The bridges except one, are constructed of round logs, with log-pen abutments, and covered with poles or split timber. Those on the larger streams are from 30 to 85 feet long and from 15 to 20 feet high. The canoes were placed at the fords of the Nichananabottana, Tinkio, Nodawa, Buchannin's Fork, & the N. W. branch of the Platte rivers; at all which places are good fords with firm sand or rock bottoms.

(*The Missouri Intelligencer, May 6, 1823.*)

NOTES.

ERRATA. — In number 6 of Volume II. of these COLLECTIONS, the date, 1700, in the fifth line on page 41, should be 1780; in the next to the last line on page 54, the word northern should be mother. From page 41 of the same number the following note was omitted:

Pencour is a corruption of *Pain Court*, the French nickname for St. Louis. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, calls it Pancore. In every day speech Carondelet was *Vide Poche*, corrupted by those unfamiliar with the French language to Wheat Bush; Ste. Genevieve was Misère; St. Charles was *Les petits Côtes* — the little hills; Kaskaskia was Kas or Au kas (Okaw), and Cahokia was Cos or Cahos or *Pouilleux*.

ARCHAELOGICAL: "The largest artificial mound in the United States" was reported by a citizen of Belleville, Ill., in 1905, located in Clinton County in that State, and the name "Kaskaskia Mound" applied to the elevation, with cuts and diagram to guide the inquiring archaeologist. On July 15, 1906, this eminence was visited by a party of competent archaeogists and geologists from St. Louis and it was found to be one of Prof. Leveritt's "glacial knolls" aptly described in his geological report on that county. The name "Bunko Hill" was suggested by the party when their examination was completed.

Mr. Gerard Fowke has completed his season's field work for 1906, in Central Missouri, where he discovered and excavated a number of burial mounds with stone receiving vaults in the central base. He is now engaged in preparing his report and mounting specimens. His address during the winter months (1906–07) will be care of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo.

The *American Anthropologist* for July–September, 1906, contains a most complete and exhaustive account of "Recent Progress in American Anthropology" for the preceding four years. Every person interested in this cranch of study should consult the article as a reading guide, and a debt of thanks is due Mr. F. W. Hodge, the editor of the *Anthropologist* for his tireless devotion to a task so well completed.

C. A. P.

Genealogical. — The Missouri Historical Society has inaugurated a department of genealogical collections and records which has been in operation more than a year and has accumulated much valuable material for future reference in the study of family histories. Genealogical blanks have been furnished to all persons asking for the same and many have been distributed with requests for information concerning families or individuals who have figured in important historic roles in the Mississippi Valley and the far West. All persons desiring blanks for registering family genealogies can procure same by applying to the Society in person or by letter.

C. A. P.

"*The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and Its Colony, Hermann, Missouri*," by William G. Bek, Harrison Fellow in Germanics, University of Pennsylvania, is a substantial and extremely interesting contribution to Missouri history. The avowed purpose of the German Settlement Society, organized in 1836, was the establishment of a colony in some portion of the United States, preferably in the "Far West," which should be characteristically German in every particular. In 1837 deputies were sent out to choose a place for the proposed colony, with instructions to visit Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin and Michigan, and to choose a place near a navigable river, with enough land bordering on the stream for a manufacturing town.

The deputies chose a place on the Missouri River near the mouth of the Gasconade, and there the Society bought 11,300.63 acres for $15,612.73. The first settlers reached the site of the new settlement late in 1837. The General manager had been detained by illness so that they found no one to apportion the land, and must have suffered great hardships. Unlike the English at Plymouth, however, they all survived the winter in the wilderness. Their names should be remembered: Conrad Baer, George Conrad Riefenstahl, with wife and five children. John George Prager, with wife and two children, Gottleib Heinrich Gentner with wife, Daniel Oelschlaeger with wife and one child; seventeen in all. The subsequent difficulties of the parent society and of the colony are well and sympathetically told. One of the many attractive features of the book is the characterization of the General Agent, or Manager, George F. Bayer, a good man and a lovable personality, but not of the material of which pioneer leaders are made. The volume which is published by the America Germanica Press of Philadelphia, is well printed and illustrated. Fronting page 76 is a view of Hermann in the 50's reproduced from a painting owned by the Missouri Historical Society for which, however, no credit is given.

W. B. D.

Mr. J. B. C. Lucas, of St. Louis, has done a service to Missouri history in printing the volume containing the "Letters of Hon. J. B. C. Lucas, from 1815 to 1836." These letters were written by his grandfather, who was appointed Territorial Judge of this district by President Jefferson shortly after the transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States. They disclose Judge Lucas's views of conditions in Missouri at an interesting period of the State's history. He was a severe critic of public men of the time who did not conform to his opinions. He was an ardent opponent of the then prevailing tendency of

legislation in the matter of disputed land titles, and was active in his opposition to what he believed to be improper methods of procedure.

Judge Lucas was extremely careful to preserve all his papers, and the "Letters" now under consideration were found in his letter book. In September, 1817, writing to his son William, Judge Lucas said of the death of his son Charles, killed in the duel with Benton: "His enemies have at last succeeded to have him killed, but none of them could subdue him."

M. L. D.

In the publication of the "*History of the Volunteer Fire Department of St. Louis*" the Veteran Volunteer Firemen's Historical Society have given to the world the record of achievements whose heroism should not be forgotten. Mr. Edward Edwards, the author, has made a study of the "volunteer age in St. Louis" and in the whole country, and has traced the spirit of the time as expressed in the work of the volunteer firemen in the leading city of the central Mississippi Valley. This history of the volunteer fire department had its beginning in the anxiety of Captain Joseph Boyce, president of the Veteran Volunteer Firemen's Historical Society to make use of the material gathered by the Society in the nearly twenty years of its existence. The result is gratifying to the author, to the Society, and to its friends. The book makes an interesting addition to the local history of St. Louis, since it makes a study of conditions of life long since passed, and reviews the great fires of early days. Captain Boyce has told of the life and work of Thomas B. Targee, "who was killed in the active discharge of his duty" in the great fire of 1849. The material collected by the late Thomas Lynch for years the secretary of the Veteran Volunteer Firemen's Historical Society, and the manuscripts of Captain William W. Branson were used by the author, who has told the story of each volunteer fire company in detail, after a

general view of the whole movement had been taken. The book is copiously illustrated with portraits of the men prominent in the volunteer fire companies, and pictures of the scenes of their endeavors. The work of the Society has been directed by presidents John E. Liggett, Charles P. Chouteau, Isaac S. Smyth, Peter J. Pauly, James Luthy, August R. Hynson, Lawrence L. Kitchen, William W. Branson, Hugo S. Jacobi, Ferdinand L. Garesche, Richard E. Bolton, Henry Fairback and Joseph Boyce.

M. L. D.

In his "*Reminisences of a Missionary Bishop*," the Right Reverend Daniel S. Tuttle, now Bishop of Missouri, has told the story of his nearly twenty years of work in Montana, Idaho, and Utah. (Thomas Whitaker, New York, publisher, 1906.) From 1867 until 1886 Bishop Tuttle represented the Protestant Episcopal Church in a Rocky Mountain region whose inhabitants were widely scattered, and where the difficulties and discomforts of travel were many. In speaking of the work in Idaho Bishop Tuttle illustrates both the character of the work done and the mettle of the man who did it: "For more than nineteen years, when it was a territory, I was its bishop. In fifty towns and hamlets in it I held services. On the map it is shaped like a boot. In the south, or the foot part, the Mormons overflowing from Utah settled; in the north, or the top of the boot leg, at Lewiston and the mines round about, were the first white settlements others than Mormons. Yet I did not visit the Lewiston region until 1881. This was because between the floods of spring and the snows of autumn there were not enough days for me to get all over Montana and Idaho. When Montana was set apart in 1880, and Bishop Brewer took charge, I visited Lewiston and the Coeur d'Alene country; after that I went there yearly."

Bishop Tuttle's book begins the story of his life with the year 1862 when he left the General Theological Seminary

of New York, and closes with his election to the bishopric of Missouri in 1886 and his relinquishment of the work in the Rocky Mountain west. For more than twenty years he has been Bishop of Missouri. The story of his work in this State would be an interesting sequel to the "Reminiscences."

M. L. D.

A NATIVE of Missouri, the Right Reverend Ethelbert Talbot, has served the Episcopal Church in his own State, as Bishop of Wyoming and Idaho, and as Bishop of Central Pennsylvania, which bishopric he now holds. He has made a recent notable addition to the literature of the West in "*My People of the Plains*," a series of sketches which he has dedicated to his "loyal friends in Wyoming and Idaho." (Harper & Brothers, New York, publishers, 1906.)

Bishop Talbot was born at Fayette, Howard County, Missouri, in 1848, the son of Dr. John A. and Alice (Daly) Talbot. He was a friend and schoolmate of Bishop Abiel Leonard who was also a native of Howard County, and a member of a family well known in Missouri history. The close parallel in the careers of Bishops Talbot and Leonard is related by the former in the People of the Plains. However, Bishop Talbot's book is not autobiographical in purpose nor effect, nor is it the history of the ecclesiastical development of Wyoming and Idaho. It tells the story of a generous and kindly folk as they were known to one who loved them. It was in 1886 that Bishop Talbot became missionary bishop of Wyoming and Idaho, and for eleven years thereafter he traversed that region, and came to know its people. His book makes a most interesting and valuable contribution to the history of the West. Of his purpose the author says: "If in any small degree he has been enabled to put in more permanent form the picture of the life of the Far West as he then knew it, and thus to crystallize a civilization now al-

most, if not entirely gone, perhaps he will have made some slight contribution to the history of that typically American part of our country, not only on its ecclesiastical, but also on its social and economic side."

M. L. D.

Mr. M. F. Stipes, has by his recent book, *Fort Orleans on the Missouri*, increased the debt already owing to him by students of Missouri History. This little book tells in a very clear and interesting manner, the story of events possessing all the glamor of romance which have remained practically unknown to our people. We are confident that Mr. Stipes's book will prove an inspiration to many writers, and that the story of the building and destruction of Fort Orleans and of Bourgmont's expedition to the Padoucas will sometime be taught to Missouri school children, not to the exclusion of, but along with the stories of Massachusetts and Connecticut which they are now learning. Mr. Stipes reaches the conclusion now generally accepted, that Fort Orleans was situated in Carroll County, near the mouth of Wakenda Creek. The confusion on this subject seems to be properly attributable to Du Pratz, who was never within five hundred miles of the fort, and to Nicholas Biddle who is preparing his edition of the Journals of Lewis and Clark, interpolated a statement based upon Du Pratz in place of what have been written in the Journal. Much careful work on these same subjects has been done by Mr. E. A. K. Kilian, secretary of the Quivira Historical Society, Manhattan, Kansas, and we have for sometime been hoping to see the results of Mr. Kilian's labors published in permanent form.

Mr. Stipes's book is printed by the Jamesport Gazette. Jamesport, Missouri, and we heartily commend it to all Missourians.

The Missouri Historical Review, Vol. 1, No. 1, published by "The State Historical Society of Missouri" at Columbia, Mo., has been received.

The opening article, The Romance of Western History, by Professor Edward Gaylord Bourne is interesting and instructive to a degree that should stimulate further study of the sources of western history. The Beginnings of Missouri Legislature is a fair resumé of the subject. The Lincoln, Hanks and Boone families, a genealogical study by Dr. Hamline E. Robinson, is a most commendable piece of work, calculated to correct some current, erroneous impressions touching the families named. The paper on Early Settlements in Missouri shows that the author was innocent of all information concerning the large American immigration into southeast Missouri long before central Missouri had any white population. In the biographical sketch of Thomas H. Benton we learn, for the first time, that Benton was born in *South* Carolina.

C. A. P.

The Chicago Historical Society has issued invitations to a reception to be held, in the society's building, Thursday evening, 7 February, 1907, "In Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Society." Brief addresses will be delivered by Hon. Charles S. Deneen, Governor of Illinois, and by Hon. Ezra B. McCagg, sole survivor of the original incorporators. The good work done by the society in its first fifty years has earned for it a prosperous existence in perpetuity, which we are sure all its kindred societies join with the Missouri Historical Society in wishing for it.

The preliminary announcement has been made of Exercises to be held at Iowa City "in commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Constitution of Iowa. The exercises are to be held under the auspices of the State Historical Society of Iowa, and the programme to be presented is as follows:—

March 29, 1907, An Address by Andrew C. McLaughlin, on A Written Constitution in Some of its Historical Aspects.

March 20. An Address on The Relation between General History and the History of Law, by Eugene Wam-

baugh, at one time of St. Louis, now Professor of Law in Harvard University.

March 21. A Conference on the Teaching of History, a Conference on the Work of Local Historical Societies and An Address by Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites on the Romance of Mississippi Valley History.

March 22. An Address by Judge Emlin McClain on the Constitutional Convention and the Issues before it.

The programme bears a list of distinguished names and the occasion will be a memorable one.

The Texas State Historical Association has sent out invitations to its annual meeting to be held at the University of Texas, Austin, on March 2, 1907. Professor Herbert E. Bolton will read a paper on "The Hasinai Indians of East Texas at the Coming of the Spaniards," and the Hon. Charles W. Ramsdell will present an article entitled "The Break-up of the Confederacy in Texas."

The Historical Society of New Mexico has issued invitations to the public meetings of the Society in the House of Representatives, Santa Fe, on Tuesday evenings, February 19th and 26th, 1907. The rooms of the Society in the palace are open to visitors every day.

The "Dougherty Collection" is a recent addition to the manuscript treasurers of the Missouri Historical Society. The papers of Major John Dougherty, of Clay County, have been deposited with this Society by his sons, Captain Lewis Bissell Dougherty and Mr. O'Fallon Dougherty. They consist of original letters, copies of correspondence with government officials, business letters connected with an extensive merchandising enterprise, accounts, receipts, and correspondence with prominent men of the State, for Major Dougherty was a man of influ-

ence in the political and social world. In the history of Missouri, of the commerce of the Missouri River, and of the Western plains, these papers are of great interest. Major Dougherty became government Indian agent in 1827, with headquarters at Council Bluffs and later at Fort Leavenworth. He was one of the pioneers of Western Missouri, and was for years one of the leading citizens of his part of the State. After he went out of office as Indian agent, Maj. Dougherty had the contract for supplying sutler's stores at Forts Kearney and Laramie, an enterprise in which he was associated with Messrs. R. & W. Campbell, of St. Louis, as well as with many of the plains and mountain men of the time. Such an enterprise meant transportation by boat and wagon trains, and called for the exercise not only of business acumen, but great courage and endurance. The Dougherty collection of papers reflects these conditions and give a picture of the time not to be found elsewhere.

M. L. D.

The papers and correspondence of Major Andrew Drips have been placed with the Missouri Historical Society by his granddaughter, Mrs. James H. Branch. Among these papers are letters of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., John B. Sarpy, Peter A. Sarpy, J. Charles Cabanne, Col. D. D. Mitchell, Major John Dougherty, François Ermatinger, Lucien Fontenelle, James Kipp, H. Picotte and W. D. Hodgkiss. For many years Major Drips was in the fur trade on the Upper Missouri, and he was Indian agent for the tribes of the Upper Missouri from 1842 to 1846. His correspondence covers an interesting period in the history of the development of the West, a development in which Major Drips was a prominent factor. The Drips Collection recently came into the custody of this Society. Its interest to historians is such that it constitutes an important addition to the sources of Missouri history.

M. L. D.

In the next issue there will begin the publication of the journal of Stephen W. Kearny, the famous soldier, describing an overland expedition made by a United States army exploring party in 1820 between "Camp Missouri," the early military post (later known as "Fort Atkinson") on the Missouri river, near the present Omaha, Nebraska, and "Camp Coldwater," the post that preceded Fort Snelling, near St. Paul. Minnesota. The purpose of the expedition was to try to discover an overland route between the two posts that would be quicker than the water route via the Missouri and Mississipi rivers. The return of the party by river from the Falls of St. Anthony to St. Louis is also chronicled. As no record of the expedition has been found in the War Department archives, or elsewhere, the publication of the journal it is expected will be received with much interest.

A new edition of Doniphan's Expedition, a book with which all Missourians should be familiar, is announced as ready for the press. It is edited by Mr. William E. Connelley, of Topeka, who has been engaged upon the work for a long time. Mr. Connelley's previous work justifies the expectation that the new Doniphan will be a book that no collection of Missouriana should be without.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ST. LOUIS.

WILLIAM J. SLEVER, *Secretary and Curator.*

The Historical Society's rooms are located in the three-story stone and brick building located at 1600 Locust street. Here has been gathered together within the past few years a large amount of material pertaining to the history of the Mississippi Valley, particularly of old Louisiana, and of our own city and State.

A valuable library of books, manuscripts, maps, pamphlets, newspaper files, and miscellaneous collections, illustrative of the history and growth of the Mississippi Valley and its people, is in possession of the Society, the use of which is tendered its members and students free of charge.

A large and growing collection of portraits of men and women identified with the country's progress is one of the features of the Society's work.

Archaeology, as a branch of history, has been cultivated by the Society, and it now has an exceedingly large and valuable collection representative of this region.

It is desired to collect and add to the collections anything and everything pertaining to Western history and progress.

All documents written or printed relating to the early settlement of the Mississippi Valley — books, pamphlets, maps, letters, legal documents, etc., also all official papers, written or printed, of the French or Spanish domination to 1804.

Newspapers and newspaper files, especially those of early St. Louis, and of Missouri and Illinois.

Books, pamphlets, and maps relating to the discovery and settlement of the West.

Personal narratives and reminiscences, biographies of early settlers, with all details of interest pertaining to pioneer life; also facts connected with the naming of lakes, rivers, counties, towns, and places, are desired.

Household utensils, implements, ornaments, and all objects of interest used by the early inhabitants.

The utensils, implements and arms of our predecessors — the Indians — together with information locating their towns, villages and cemeteries. Send to the Historical Society their relics for preservation.

Pictures, views, and maps of every description, photographs and engravings of points of interest, old buildings and historic places, are especially desired.

In fact the Society wishes to preserve everything of interest, past or present. Owners of interesting and valuable material, who do not wish to dispose of them, are requested to deposit them with the Society for the permanent Loan Exhibit. All such objects will be secure from loss, and carefully preserved, subject to withdrawal at any time.

The Society also solicits from authors and publishers copies of their works for the Library.

Address all communications to the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

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